

Pedlars and the Popular Press

Library of the Written Word

VOLUME 29

The Handpress World

Editor-in-Chief

Andrew Pettegree
University of St Andrews

Editorial Board

Ann Blair
Harvard University
Falk Eisermann
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz
Ian Maclean
All Souls College, Oxford
Angela Nuovo
University of Udine
Mark Towsey
University of Liverpool
Malcolm Walsby
University of Rennes II

VOLUME 21

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/lww

Pedlars and the Popular Press

Itinerant Distribution Networks in England and
the Netherlands 1600–1850

By

Jeroen Salman



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON

2014

Cover illustration: Johannes van Vliet, *Calling Pedlar* (1668–1693), etching. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet: OB 61828.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Salman, Jeroen.

Pedlars and the popular press : itinerant distribution networks in England and the Netherlands 1600-1850 / by Jeroen Salman.

pages cm. -- (Library of the written word ; volume 29)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-90-04-25284-4 (hardback : acid-free paper) -- ISBN 978-90-04-25285-1 (e-book) 1. Book industries and trade--England--History--17th century. 2. Book industries and trade--Netherlands--History--17th century. 3. Peddling--England--History--17th century. 4. Peddling--Netherlands--History--17th century. 5. Book industries and trade--Social aspects--England. 6. Book industries and trade--Social aspects--Netherlands. 7. Book industries and trade--England--History--18th century. 8. Book industries and trade--Netherlands--History--18th century. 9. Peddling--England--History--18th century. 10. Peddling--Netherlands--History--18th century. I. Title.

Z326.S25 2013

381'.450020942--dc23

2013031400

This publication has been typeset in the multilingual “Brill” typeface. With over 5,100 characters covering Latin, IPA, Greek, and Cyrillic, this typeface is especially suitable for use in the humanities. For more information, please see www.brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1874-4834

ISBN 978-90-04-25284-4 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-25285-1 (e-book)

Copyright 2014 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Global Oriental, Hotei Publishing, IDC Publishers and Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.

Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

CONTENTS

Preface	vii
List of Illustrations and Tables	ix
List of Abbreviations.....	xv
Introduction.....	1
Debates.....	5
Approach.....	7
Models of Communication	8
Sources.....	8
Structure.....	9
1. Reputation and Representation.....	11
<i>In Collaboration with Karen Bowen</i>	
Confusing Terminology.....	13
Authorities and Booksellers.....	16
A Growing Danger in England.....	16
Tolerance, Repression and Economic Interests in the Netherlands	25
Pedlars in the World of the Imagination: Textual Representations.....	32
Dutch Literary Representations	32
English Textual Representations.....	50
Pedlars in the World of the Imagination: The Visual Perspective.....	53
English Ballad Singers.....	55
Dutch Images	70
Pedlars and Their Self-Image	78
The Struggle for Life	81
Battling a Bad Reputation.....	88
Distributor of Respectable Goods	90
Conclusion: Stereotypes, Motives and Change.....	92
2. The Pedlar in the English Distribution Network.....	97
The Scale of Itinerant Distribution	97
Organisation and Control	98
Itinerant Book Trade	100
Number of Pedlar Licenses.....	103

Pedlars and Hawkers with Printed Wares.....	110
Itinerant Booksellers in London	114
Itinerant Book Trade in the Provinces: Devon and Exeter.....	116
Categorisation and Trade Practices	118
Occasional Pedlars.....	121
Pedlars of Books and Other Goods.....	122
Pedlars with Printed Wares Exclusively	127
Ballad Sellers and Singers	133
News Pedlars	140
Chapbooks, Prints, Almanacs, Children's Books and Other Printed Wares	160
Conclusion: Distribution Networks and Distribution Patterns in England	163
3. The Pedlar in the Dutch Distribution Network	167
The Scale of Itinerant Distribution	167
Amsterdam	169
Leiden.....	180
Utrecht.....	183
Categorisation, Networks and Trade Practices	186
Occasional Pedlars.....	188
Pedlars with Books and Other Wares	192
Pedlars with Printed Wares Exclusively	197
Specialist Pedlars.....	208
Conclusion: Distribution Networks and Patterns in the Netherlands	244
Conclusion: A Comparative Perspective on Itinerant Networks.....	249
Bibliography	257
Archival and Manuscript Sources	257
Published Primary Sources.....	259
Electronic Sources and Databases.....	262
Secondary Sources.....	263
Index of Names, Places and Major Topics.....	275

PREFACE

This book is a product of my Vidi-project ‘The pedlar and the dissemination of the printed word (1600–1850),’ which was financed by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO). One of the many pleasures of this five-year project was the close collaboration with Karen Bowen and Roeland Harms, and this book bears the marks of their expertise and ideas and our many discussions. The research for this project and the book was carried out in the hospitable and stimulating environment of the Research Institute for History and Culture at the University of Utrecht. Jonathan Barry and Ian Maxted helped me to find my way in the Exeter sources and institutions, Michael Harris guided me during my London research, and John Hinks broadened my perspective on the provincial booktrade. In the last year of the project (2009–2010), I had the opportunity to work on my book at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences (NIAS) in Wassenaar. I would like to express my gratitude for the great hospitality I enjoyed there.

Michael Harris, Danielle van den Heuvel and Roeland Harms read individual chapters and gave me many useful suggestions for improvement. Chapter 1 was written in collaboration with Karen Bowen, whose art historical expertise and research was vital for the interdisciplinary perspective that is the intention here. Gerben Bekker and Ruben Schalk were a great help in producing network analyses and statistical analyses, and Simon Dixon and Jan Mispelare supported the project with additional archival research in Exeter and Amsterdam. I was able to use the databases of Sjoerd Faber, Florike Egmont, Ton Jongenelen and Dorothee Sturkenboom, for which I am very grateful.

I would like to thank Andrew Pettegree for his editorial advice and support, Sylvia Jones for editing three chapters and Rona Johnston Gordon for editing the whole manuscript in such a meticulous way.

After seeking, encountering and studying so many drifting, destitute and lonely people, I realise more than ever that a comfortable home and, above all, a loving family – Jolande, Eva and Juultje – are an invaluable treasure.

May 2013

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS AND TABLES

Figures

1.1.	Watercolour portrait of the Dutch pedlar Francois van der Linden, added to a satirical pamphlet about Van der Linden's life; the drawing is dated 4 April 1742. The Hague, National Library: Pfl 17351	40
1.2.	A ballad singer on a seventeenth-century Dutch tile. Otterlo, Nederlands Tegelmuseum: 9680	54
1.3.	Anonymous, <i>Ballad Singers</i> , above the song <i>Barbara Bell</i> . Newcastle: Angus, ca. 1774–1825, woodcut. Oxford, Bodleian Library: Harding B 25 (116).....	58
1.4.	J. Savage? after Marcellus Laroon II, <i>Merry New Song</i> , ca. 1688, etching and engraving. London, British Museum, 1972: U.370.25.....	59
1.5.	William Hogarth, <i>The Rake at the Rose Tavern</i> , 1735, etching and engraving. London, British Museum: 1868,0822.1530	62
1.6.	Anonymous after H.R. Morland, <i>A Girl Singing Ballads by a Paper Lantern</i> , ca. 1750–1775, mezzotint. London, British Museum: 1871,0812.2493.....	65
1.7.	A. Cardon after Francis Wheatley, <i>A New Love Song only Ha'penny</i> , 1796, stipple engraving. London, British Museum: 1871,1209.604.....	66
1.8.	John Raphael Smith after George Carter, <i>The Old Ballad Seller (John Massey)</i> , 1775, mezzotint. London, British Museum: 1851,0308.472	68
1.9.	I.T. van der Vooren, <i>Rolzanger Lange Jan bij het standbeeld van Erasmus te Rotterdam</i> [The ballad singer Tall John near the statue of Erasmus in Rotterdam], ca. 1790, oil on wood. Rotterdam, Historisch Museum: 11031	74
1.10.	Johannes Egbertus Lieshout, <i>Onderscheidene bedrijven</i> , ca. 1841, a newspaper salesman is second from the left in the second row. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet: RP-P-OB-102.368.....	76
1.11.	Benjamin Prins, <i>The Ballad Singer Kees Meijer in the Kalverstraat</i> (Amsterdam), nineteenth century. Amsterdam: Stadsarchief	80

- 1.12. Scottish patterer and chapbook seller William Cameron alias Hawkie, from the title page of his autobiography, *Hawkie: Autobiography of a Gangrel*. Glasgow, David Robertson & Co, 1888. London, British Library: 10827 aa 24 83
- 1.13. The life of the Scottish pedlar Dougal Graham is fictionalised in *The History of John Cheap the Chapman*, of which the title page is reproduced here. Edinburgh, Niddry's-wynd, 1785. London, British Library 12331.b.34.(7.) 84
- 1.14. A friendly pedlar on the title page of *Het vrolijke prentenboek voor kinderen*. [The cheerful picture book for children]. Amsterdam, G. Theod. Bom, c. 1850. The Hague, National Library: KW 1090 H 130 91
- 2.1. Poster issued by the Office for Inland Revenue warning hawkers and pedlars to obtain or renew their licences before 31 July 1859. Kew, National Archives, IR 78/ 467 104
- 2.2. A foot licence for a pedlar, 1844. London, Metropolitan Archive: O/533/001 107
- 2.3. An example of a pedlar selling books and other wares. T. Busby, *Pedlar with his box of wares*, in: Thomas Busby, *Costume of the Lower Orders of London* (London [1820]), etching. London, British Library 7742.e.19.(2) 123
- 2.4. Anonymous, *David Love*, Nottingham c. 1823. David Love was a miner, village schoolmaster, soldier and pedlar in the late eighteenth, early nineteenth century. He hawked printed texts, but also sold cotton balls, needles, thimbles, laces and buttons. Nottingham city council: NTGM01 1920 125
- 2.5. W. Geikie, *The Ballad and the Penny History Stall*, 1843, portraying a Scottish salesman, from *Etchings illustrative of Scottish Character and Scenery* (Edinburgh 1841). London, British museum: 1856,0809.28 128
- 2.6. *The Pedlars, or Scotch Merchants*, a satire on Scottish pedlars. London: M. Darly, 1763. London, British Museum: 1868,0808.4333 132
- 2.7. J. Robinson, *Robin O'Green of Burnley*, 1780, portrait of a ballad singer, mezzotint. London, British Museum: 1851,0308.315 134
- 2.8. C. Williams, *The Enraged Politicians or Political Ballad Singers*, 1805, etching. London, British Museum: 1868,0808.7359 135

- 2.9. J.R. Smith after H. Walton, *Pretty Maid Buying a Love Song*, 1780, mezzoprint. London, British Museum: 1874,1010.22..... 137
- 2.10. C. Dubos after J. Laguerre, *Friendly as a Ballad Singer at the Country Wake*, 1720–1745, etching and engraving. London, British Museum: 1877,1013.929 138
- 2.11. Anonymous after M. Laroon II, broadside of selection of the cries of London, 1688–1700, published by J. Overton. In the lower right corner: ‘London’s Gazette here’. London, British Museum: I,7.80 141
- 2.12. Anonymous, *Distribution of pamphlets supporting John Wilkes*, ca. 1770, mezzotint. London, Guildhall: q402877 155
- 2.13. P. Sandby, *Last Dying Speech*, ca. 1759, drawing. New Haven, Yale Centre for British Art: B 1975.3.225 159
- 2.14. *The New Cries of London or Itinerant Trades of the British Metropolis*. London, W. Darton & J. Harvey, 1823–1824, with an almanac seller in the upper left-hand corner, wood engraving. Harvard, Houghton Library: HEW 13.9.9 F 162
- 3.1. A pedlar with a seasonal product. A. Pauwels after A. van Diepenbeeck, *Koningskroonverkoper* [Seller of kings’ letters]. In Antoine de Bourgogne, *Mundi lapis lydius* (Antwerp, Jan Cnobbaert, 1639). Antwerp, City Library: C 111607 [C2-554 c] 191
- 3.2. A bookstall on a market about 1800. The drawing is attributed to the (fictitious) D. Veelvraat. The caption reads, ‘By ‘t scheiden van de markt leert men de koopliën kennen’ [You know who your friends are when the chips are down]. In S.A. Fokke, *Het Hollandsche Spreekwoord*. Amsterdam, A.B. Saakes, 1807. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet: Collectie Emmering 198
- 3.3. J.F.D. Kok, Bookstalls and print sellers on the Amsterdam Botermarkt [Buttermarket], viewed in eastern direction, ca. 1850, drawing. The entrance to the Amstelstraat is in the middle of the scene. Amsterdam, Stadsarchief: 010097010403 201
- 3.4. A ballad seller singing his songs. Jan Both, *Het Gehoor*, 1625–1645, etching. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet: R.P.P. B I 4215 212
- 3.5. A New Year’s Wish from the deliverymen of books, weeklies and other magazines. Groningen, L. Huisingh, 1786. Groningen, University Library: M.V.O. PORT 49 NO3 218

3.6. <i>Antwerpsche Vrijdaagsche post-tydingen</i> [Antwerp newspaper]. Amsterdam: Jacob Brouwer, ca. 1707. Amsterdam, University Library: Obr. 168.....	221
3.7. Jan van Gysen, <i>Weekelyksche Amsterdamsche mercuuren</i> (1710–1711) [Amsterdam weekly mercury]. Amsterdam: Jacobus (I) van Egmont, 1710. This mercury was distributed by local pedlars. The Hague, National Library: 556 J 3–4.....	227
3.8. J.H. Prins, Female hawker on the Botermarkt [Buttermarket] in Amsterdam, 1775–1806. Rotterdam, Atlas van Stolk: 31312	231
3.9. Drawing of the Leiden newsvendor Klaas Langenakker. In P. Kikkert, <i>Proeve van ets-kundige uitspanningen, of</i> <i>Verzameling van plaatjens</i> . Amsterdam, Willem van Vliet, 1789. The Hague, National Library: 1307 E 12.....	233
3.10. <i>Na-courant</i> [Follow-up newspaper], an Orangist newspaper and pamphlet, 1783–1784, was available at the tavern Overraam, just outside the Hogewoerd city gate of Leiden. From there it was distributed further by street sellers. The Hague, National Library: pfl. 20465.....	236
3.11. Jacob Perkois, <i>Traveling printseller</i> , 1784, chalk, pen and brush. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet: Emmering collection, RP-T-2008-28	238
3.12. Penny print: <i>Lui-lekkerland/ Pays de Cocagne</i> . Turnhout, Brepols & Dierckx, 1833–1880. The Hague, National Library: SMC K 0109.....	240
3.13. Italian printseller. Paris, Madame d'estampes à Vienne, 1788, coloured aquatint. Milan, Collection Alberto Milano	242

Tables

2.1. Licensed pedlars and hawkers and administrators in England, 1697–1837.....	108
2.2. Printers and booksellers in England and Wales, 1700–1849	111
2.3. Book trade participation in England and Wales, 1700–1849.....	111
2.4. Itinerant booksellers in England and Wales, 1700–1849.....	112
2.5. Street sellers with printed wares in London, c. 1850	115
2.6. Printers and booksellers in Exeter, 1700–1849.....	117
3.1. Population of Amsterdam, 1585–1849	170
3.2. Itinerant booksellers in Amsterdam court records, 1616–1729.....	172

3.3. Dutch pedlars with printed goods in Amsterdam, 1600–1850.....	174
3.4. Official (sedentary) booksellers and itinerant booksellers in Amsterdam, 1616–1849	176
3.5. Dealers in printed matter recorded in Amsterdam census of 1849.....	178
3.6. Itinerant traders with permits in Leiden, 1610–1669.....	181
3.7. Itinerant book traders in the Leiden court records, 1620–1740.....	181
3.8. Pedlars and booksellers in Utrecht, 1730–1850	184
3.9. Pedlars in Utrecht, 1818 and 1839–1840	186
3.10. Utrecht pedlars licensed for selling wares in the rural area of the province of Utrecht, 1763–1807	195
3.11. Utrecht pedlars licensed for selling printed wares only in the rural area of the province of Utrecht, 1763–1807	207
3.12. Residence of ballad sellers in Amsterdam 1600–1850	209
3.13. Hawkers of printed news in Amsterdam by wares and gender, 1600–1850.....	222
3.14. Categories of printing in the publication lists of Jacobus (I) van Egmont and his widow, 1711–1755	229

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BBTI	British Book Trade Index
BL London	British Library London
BM	British Museum London
DRO	Devon Record Office Exeter
GA Amsterdam	Gemeentearchief Amsterdam [Municipal archive Amsterdam]
GA Leiden	Gemeentearchief Leiden [Municipal archive Leiden]
GA Rotterdam	Gemeentearchief Rotterdam [Municipal archive Rotterdam]
NA	Notarieel archief [Notarial archive]
NA Kew	The National Archives Kew
KB Den Haag	Koninklijke Bibliotheek Den Haag [National Library The Hague]
KVB	Bibliotheek Koninklijke Vereniging van het Boekenvak [Library of the Royal Society for the Book Trade]
RA	Rechtelijk archief [Judicial archive]
RAZH	Rijksarchief Zuid-Holland [State archive Zuid-Holland]
SA	Stadsarchief [City archive]
UB Amsterdam	Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam [University Library Amsterdam]
UB Antwerpen	Universiteitsbibliotheek Antwerpen [University Library Antwerp]
UB Gent	Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent [University Library Gent]
UB Leiden	Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden [University Library Leiden]
UB Utrecht	Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht [University Library Utrecht]
WSL	Westcounty studies library Exeter

INTRODUCTION

On a sunny day in June 1838, Martinus van Zoeren, a young man from the Dutch city of Arnhem, met Giovanni Castiglione, an itinerant Italian print seller, on the road near the Brabant cities of Oirschot and Boxtel. After they had had lunch, the two men continued their journey together in a pleasant and cheerful mood, telling jokes and enjoying the weather. They arrived at a desolated heath, and the pedlar, who had become tired of carrying the box with his wares, decided to take a nap. Van Zoeren's evil intentions suddenly became clear. He hit his companion on the head with a heavy stick and then drowned him in a small pool. He took 18 guilders from Castiglione's purse and a cylinder of prints from his box, covered the body with mud, branches and leaves and took to his heels. But when the murderer returned to the scene of his crime later, to see if there were additional valuable items, he was seen by several witnesses. He confessed, was convicted of robbery and murder, and was executed in Arnhem on 26 November 1839.¹ Reports of this minor incident were published in several contemporary newspapers, which was fortunate indeed, for without this source, we might never have heard of the (short) life of Giovanni Castiglione. From the story of his death, we know that he was one of the many itinerant booksellers who travelled throughout early modern Europe selling books and prints on the streets and in market places. Castiglione was exceptional in that he left – unintentionally – information about his trade, his route, his activities and his earnings. The lives of these poor pedlars have largely left no trace in the historical record, but the record of the tragic fate of Castiglione reveals that this print seller travelled long distances, went by foot, specialised in prints and operated on his own. If we combine this account with other sources, we can assume that Castiglione was one of the many Italian pedlars who came from the Italian city of Bassano and sold the famous Remondini prints all across Europe.² These facts seem clear, but they also raise many new questions. What other types of pedlar were active in the Dutch Republic? What kind of books and prints did they sell? Did they combine their printed wares with other goods? What was their relationship with the official urban booksellers? Did Dutch

¹ *Utrechtsche courant*, dd. 22-05-1839; *Middelburgsche courant*, dd. 30-11-1839. I would like to thank Jo Thijssen for bringing this unique reference to my attention.

² This Italian print trade will be discussed in chapter 3, pp. 239–243.

pedlars differ from other European pedlars? The search for answers to these questions, and others, was the main impetus behind the writing of this book. And fortunately, I can build on pioneering studies that have raised interest in the fascinating world of the itinerant book trade.

The publication of Laurence Fontaine's *Histoire du colportage en Europe (XVe–XIXe siècles)* in 1993 put the itinerant bookseller on the historical map.³ Ten years earlier, Margaret et Spufford had excited interest in this subject with her pioneering study *The Great Reclothing of Rural England*.⁴ Spufford emphasised the important function of itinerant booksellers as distributors of cheap print in seventeenth-century England. She described in detail an advanced network of 2,500 pedlars, or chapmen, who travelled all over England. From 1650 onwards, their role as cultural mediators converged with their key economic position in the new consumer market. Their baskets were filled with necessities like stockings, as well as cultural goods such as cheap books.⁵

In her elaborate study *History of Pedlars in Europe*, Fontaine focused on an eighteenth-century network of French pedlars in the Alpine regions. Challenging existing interpretations, her most striking conclusion is that these itinerant book traders were not marginal at all in early modern France. Peddling was 'a multifaceted activity and a vital phenomenon in past communities'.⁶ And Fontaine acknowledges a fundamental problem: the 'pedlar' did not exist. The word covers a very heterogeneous group of travelling merchants about whom it is nearly impossible to generalise. Wisely, the author avoids strict definitions, and as a result she is able to gain insight into a variety of cultural and socio-economic aspects of her subject. Fontaine raised a number of elementary questions, considering, for example, how pedlars mediated between urban and rural cultures and how their merchandise such as cheap printed material influenced the morality and cultural practices of the buyers. She was also curious about the cultural influences on pedlars.

³ L. Fontaine, *Histoire du colportage en Europe (XVe–XIXe siècles)*, Paris 1993; English translation: *History of pedlars in Europe*, Cambridge 1996. See also R. Chartier and H.-J. Lüsebrink (eds), *Colportage et lecture populaire: Imprimés de large circulation en Europe XVIe–XIXe siècles*, Paris 1996.

⁴ M. Spufford, *The great reclothing of rural England. Petty chapmen and their wares in the seventeenth century*, London 1984. See also M. Spufford, 'The pedlar, the historian and the folklorist: seventeenth century communications', *Folklore* 105 (1994), pp. 13–24, and M. Spufford, *Small books and pleasant histories. Popular fiction and its readership in seventeenth-century England*, Cambridge 1981.

⁵ Spufford, 'The pedlar, the historian and the folklorist', pp. 14–16.

⁶ Fontaine, *History of pedlars*, p. 202.

Itinerant trade was not restricted to the countryside, for it was also an urban phenomenon. For sixteenth-century Italian cities such as Florence and Venice, Rosa Salzberg has reconstructed a network of street sellers who hawked cheap printed wares. Salzberg also stressed the oral and performative dimensions of street selling and the large audience that resulted, which included the non-literate. As in most cities, the street sellers' activities were restricted by the local guilds and authorities.⁷ Paula McDowell demonstrated the commercial importance of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century hawkers in London in her book *The Women of Grub Street*.⁸ Michael Harris has also looked at London, exploring the networks and selling places of street sellers, stallholders and second-hand booksellers.⁹

Itinerant trade was crucial for the dissemination of not only the printed word, but also all kinds of other consumer and cultural goods, especially in the eighteenth century. Harald Deceulaer argued that 'the growth in consumption in many countries, at least in England, France and the Southern Netherlands, went hand in hand with an enormous growth in fraud, smuggling and peddling'.¹⁰ Itinerants had a flexibility that aided them in buying and selling new products and finding new markets. In his groundbreaking monograph *The Industrious Revolution*, Jan de Vries demonstrated a major shift in the period 1650–1750, from 'markets, fairs and direct, guild-controlled artisanal sales towards retail shops and peddlars'. Shops with a variety of commodities spread into the countryside beyond the market towns, and pedlars complemented the offerings of these shops with other goods. The increase in small retail outlets ran in parallel with a growing number of pedlars. This new retail network guaranteed a much larger supply of consumer goods than the old market system.¹¹ There is

⁷ R. Salzberg, '“Selling stories and many other things in and through the city.” Peddling print in Renaissance Florence and Venice', *Sixteenth century journal* 42 (2011), pp. 737–759; C. Griffin, *Journeyman-printers, heresy, and the inquisition in sixteenth-century Spain*, Oxford 2005.

⁸ P. McDowell, *The women of Grub Street. Press, politics, and gender in the London literary marketplace 1678–1730*, Oxford 1998, p. 60.

⁹ M. Harris, 'The book trade in public places: London street booksellers, 1690–1850', in R. Myers, M. Harris and G. Mandelbrote (eds), *Fairs, markets and the itinerant book trade*, New Castle 2007, pp. 187–211.

¹⁰ H. Deceulaer, 'Dealing with diversity. Pedlars in the Southern Netherlands in the eighteenth century', in B. Blondé et al. (eds), *Buyers and sellers. Retail circuits and practices in medieval and early modern Europe*, Turnhout 2006, p. 171.

¹¹ J. de Vries, *The industrious revolution. Consumer behavior and the household economy, 1650 to the present*, Cambridge 2008, p. 169.

thus an interesting relationship between the consumer revolution in the eighteenth century and the growth of peddling.¹²

Until now, English and French historians seem to have dominated the international debate on this subject,¹³ although substantial research has been done in several other European countries, including Germany, Italy and Spain.¹⁴ In the Netherlands, however, the pedlar has hardly been a subject of detailed historical research.¹⁵ This omission is all the more regrettable because the Dutch Republic provides a particularly interesting context for this type of research, and especially for consideration of the dissemination of print. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Dutch printing and publishing business was the largest in Europe. Furthermore, there was a remarkable absence of harsh censorship and relatively high levels of literacy. Particular socio-economic, religious, and cultural characteristics distinguished the Dutch Republic from other European countries. One remarkable aspect was its urban character, with a high number of established booksellers spread all over the country. A systematic reconstruction of the Dutch itinerant book-distribution system would add to our knowledge of the more rural distribution systems.

Although English pedlars and street sellers have been more thoroughly studied, there are still important gaps in our knowledge. The role of street sellers in the distribution of political pamphlets, ballads and news books from the 1640s was a neglected area until recently.¹⁶ We still know too

¹² See also D. van den Heuvel, 'Selling in the shadows. Peddlers and hawkers in early modern Europe', in M. van der Linden and L. Lucassen (eds), *Working on labor. Essays in honor of Jan Lucassen*, Leiden and Boston 2012, pp. 125–151.

¹³ See for England also, R. Myers and M. Harris, *Spreading the word. The distribution of print 1550–1850*, Winchester 1998, and R. Myers, M. Harris and G. Mandelbrote (eds), *Fairs, markets and the itinerant book trade*, New Castle 2007. For France see also P. Brochon, *Le livre de colportage en France depuis le XVIe siècle. Sa littérature, ses lecteurs*, Paris 1954.

¹⁴ Chartier and Lüsebrink, *Colportage et lecture populaire*; Salzberg, "Selling stories and many other things in and through the city"; A. Milano (ed.), *Commercio della stampe e diffusione delle immagini nei secoli XVIII e XIX. Trade and circulation of popular prints during the XVIII and XIX centuries*, Rovereto 2008; Griffin, *Journeyman-printers, heresy, and the inquisition*; G. Scheidt, *Der Kolportagebuchhandel (1869–1905). Eine systemtheoretische Rekonstruktion*, Stuttgart 1994.

¹⁵ With the exception of the rich source studies of P.J. Verkruijsse: *De marskramer. Verslag van een onderzoek naar de marskramer in literatuur en beeldende kunst*, 2 vols, unpublished research report, Instituut voor Neerlandistiek, Amsterdam University, 1993 and *De marskramer. Verslag van een onderzoek naar de marskramer in archivalia*, unpublished research report, Instituut voor Neerlandistiek, Amsterdam University, 1994. His research material is also published on the internet: <http://cf.hum.uva.nl/nhl/marskrammers>.

¹⁶ See J. Peacey, 'Wandering with pamphlets: the infrastructure of news circulation in Civil War England', in R. Harms, J. Raymond and J. Salman (eds), *Not dead things: The dissemination of popular print in England and Wales, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500–1900*, Leiden and Boston, 2013, pp. 97–114.

little of the eighteenth-century itinerant book trade: Spufford focussed on the seventeenth century, and the contemporary detailed work of Henry Mayhew allows for reconstruction of the nineteenth-century street trade.¹⁷ The representation of English pedlars and ballad sellers in literature and art has attracted the interest of very few scholars.¹⁸

DEBATES

We can distinguish several debates about the role and function of the pedlar in early modern and nineteenth-century society. It is customary to view the pedlar as a representative of popular culture and as the main supplier of cheap print for the lower classes in the period 1600–1850. Since Peter Burke published his *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, in 1978, the discussion of popular culture has been driven by the paradigm of the increased polarization of high and low culture after 1500. This development appears to have culminated around 1850 in a complete dichotomy between the culture of the elite and that of common people.¹⁹ Considered the most important distributors of popular printed matter in Europe between 1600 and 1850, itinerant salesmen are generally regarded as symbols of low (popular) culture, whereas the residential booksellers in towns represent high (learned) culture. German, British and French studies support the view that the pedlar belongs to the cultural domain of the common people.²⁰ This study does not take that seemingly inevitable connection between itinerant trade and popular culture for granted. Related to this discussion is the juxtaposition of urban and rural settings. In light of the presence of pedlars in Dutch cities, we can postulate, for example, that pedlars may have reduced, rather than reinforced, the gap between established booksellers and consumers who did not frequently visit a bookshop. Furthermore, these urban pedlars presumably found their customers among the lower as well as the middle and upper classes. A major hypothesis of this book is that in the highly urbanised Netherlands,

¹⁷ H. Mayhew, *London labour and the London poor*, republication of the ed. London 1861–1862, New York 1968.

¹⁸ S. Shesgreen, *Images of the outcast: The urban poor in the cries of London*, Manchester 2002. Vic Gammon has recently started work on a book about images of ballad sellers and ballad singers; see <http://www.ncl.ac.uk/sacs/staff/profile/vic.gammon>.

¹⁹ P. Burke, *Popular culture in early modern Europe*, London, 1978, rev. ed. 1994.

²⁰ R. Schenda, *Volk ohne Buch. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der populären Lesestoffe 1770–1910*, Frankfurt am Main 1970; Spufford, *Small books*; Myers and Harris, *Spreading the word*; Brochon, *Le livre de colportage*.

the itinerant seller functioned as a crucial extension of the established booksellers in the towns.

Another debate focuses on the scale of itinerant trade and the economic importance of the itinerant trader. Historians tend to assume that the high degree of urbanisation and the distribution of sedentary booksellers found in the Dutch Republic would have made the itinerant book trade largely superfluous. There is, however, no empirical evidence to support that conjecture. And we do know that pedlars in the city of London were commercially significant.²¹ But what of a possible gender distinction? Did men and women have an equal share in the distribution of print in the urban context?²²

Another strand of the discussion considers when pedlars started to become important distributors of printed wares, an issue that is a principal concern of this book. On one hand, the French historian Roger Chartier has postulated on the basis of royal ordinances that French pedlars distributing chapbooks first reached rural areas in the eighteenth century. Spufford, on the other hand, argued that they could have already been present in the countryside in the seventeenth century. She considers Chartier's sources selective, for the ordinances he used were proclaimed in response to complaints by keepers of urban bookshops. For Spufford, this source confirms the presence of pedlars in the towns but does not prove their absence from the countryside.²³

An equally interesting question is whether the itinerant book trade represents a traditional or modern commercial activity. It has been suggested, for instance, that pedlars appeared in economically backward areas with limited infrastructure.²⁴ Deceulaer is reluctant to position the history of peddling as a traditional activity within a linear progression of modernisation. In the eighteenth century, pedlars in the Southern Netherlands were often a creative and dynamic group who connected towns and villages and spread old and new consumer goods. They sped up turnover for industrial producers, to whom they provided information about customers. Some pedlars were 'innovative entrepreneurs' with new products, new markets and new methods.²⁵

²¹ McDowell, *The women of Grub Street*, p. 60.

²² D. van den Heuvel doubts the supposed marginal role of female street vendors and stallholders in Dutch cities; see D. van den Heuvel, *Women and entrepreneurship. Female traders in the Northern Netherlands, c. 1580–1815*, Amsterdam 2007, p. 87.

²³ Spufford, 'The peddler, the historian and the folklorist', p. 15.

²⁴ J. Lucassen, *Naar de kusten van de Noordzee. Trekarbeid in Europees perspectief 1600–1900*. Gouda 1984, p. 114.

²⁵ Deceulaer, 'Dealing with diversity', p. 192.

APPROACH

Temporal and geographical limits help define the boundaries of this potentially expansive project. This study starts around 1600, as the book trade was undergoing rapid growth, especially in the new Dutch Republic. Within the international market for printed matter, an important role was reserved for products in the vernacular. The diversity, even at the lowest levels of the market, was enormous.²⁶ The period covered ends in 1850, by which time the organisation of the book trade had thoroughly changed and the itinerant retailer no longer played a meaningful role in distribution. Pedlars did not immediately disappear, but after the dissolution of the guild system and with the ever-stricter division of labour, they were increasingly incorporated into the book business.²⁷ Not only were pedlars recognised within the industry itself, but a simultaneous external development also undermined the basis of the itinerant trade—improved transportation, in particular by rail. Moreover, the number of bookshops in rural areas increased, making for a closely knit distribution network, and a growing number of sedentary second-hand traders took over part of the market for old and superfluous books from street traders. Finally, reading libraries, reading circles and reading clubs were increasingly numerous and played an ever greater role in the dissemination of literature.²⁸

With the presupposed distinction between pedlars in the city and pedlars in the countryside in mind, this book will make a comparison between the more rural society of England and the more urbanised society of the Netherlands. It will focus on two main production centers, London and Amsterdam, and on three provincial towns, Utrecht, Leiden and Exeter. This comparison serves a number of aims. More broadly, this method allows us to sharpen our insight into specific national and local characteristics of the phenomenon of the peddling of printed wares. More specifically, it allows us to determine how the itinerant trade was regulated in these countries and cities. Our first impression is that the itinerant trade in England was better controlled and organized than that in the Netherlands. But how did censorship and licensing work in practice? And did differences in regulation have any consequences for publishers’

²⁶ *Bibliopolis. History of the printed book in the Netherlands*, Zutphen and The Hague 2003, pp. 57–59; B. van Selm, *Een menigste treffelijke boeken. Nederlandse boekhandels-catalogi in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw*, Utrecht 1987.

²⁷ *Bibliopolis*, pp. 138–139; L. Kuitert, ‘Grote boeken voor de kleine man. Colportage in Nederland in de negentiende eeuw’, *De negentiende eeuw* 20 (1996), pp. 93–105.

²⁸ *Bibliopolis*, pp. 184–189, 191.

strategies and even for the appearance and content of printed books and sheets? For example, did the Netherlands have a corpus of popular texts similar to English chapbooks and the French *Bibliothèque Bleue*? Other aspects highlighted by such comparison are population density and distances involved, as well as political borders, customs duties and differing legal and institutional frameworks in towns and provinces.²⁹

MODELS OF COMMUNICATION

Over the past few decades, several historical works and socio-historical models of communication have sought to describe the cycle of production, distribution and consumption of the printed word.³⁰ Such models are undergoing further revision. Bourdieu's field theory provides one way to understand the dynamics of the construction, dissemination and reception of cultural goods.³¹ Bourdieu's focus was on the modern era, but it has been possible to project his theory back to an earlier period.³² Yet these concepts and models start from a rather idealised linear communication process and focus on the official book trade and the cultural elite. They do not include the itinerant trader and therefore cannot offer an explanation of his or her intermediary role in the cultural process. And they do not take account of the differences between rural and urban society.

The starting point for this study is not the lifecycle of the printed text, but rather an essential actor in this cycle: the itinerant bookseller or pedlar. To uncover pedlars' motives and actions, we need to examine the itinerant traders' background and the nature of their economic, social and cultural capital. What can be said about their social background, their education, their economic and political motives, in short, about their *habitus*?³³

SOURCES

Pedlars came from the lower strata of society and therefore did not leave many records. They had little property and wrote letters or dairies

²⁹ See Deceulaer, 'Dealing with diversity', p. 191.

³⁰ R. Darnton, 'What is the history of the book?', *Daedalus* 111, no. 3 (1982), pp. 65–83.

³¹ P. Bourdieu, 'The field of cultural production, or the economic world reversed', *Poetics* 12 (1983), pp. 311–356.

³² K. van Rees and G.J. Dorleijn, 'The eighteenth-century literary field in Western Europe. The interdependence of material and symbolic production and consumption', *Poetics* 28 (2003), pp. 331–348.

³³ P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a theory of practice*, Cambridge 1977.

infrequently, and their economic activities, often illegal or considered unimportant, were not registered. The sources for this study are therefore both highly varied and indirect. Five main types can be distinguished: administrative (ordinances, statutes), economic (guild archives, tax data, market registrations), legal/juridical (criminal records, licences, contracts, censorship), literary (plays, prose, poetry), iconographic (prints, book illustrations, paintings), and personal (ego documents). The study rests most heavily on trade licenses and criminal records.

STRUCTURE

The first chapter of this book considers the ways itinerant booksellers were perceived and judged by authorities, guilds and contemporary authors and artists in both England and the Netherlands. Systematic analysis of this phenomenon increases our understanding of the social and cultural position of the itinerant book trader.

The second chapter analyses the itinerant book distribution system in England. In addition to estimating the scale of this phenomenon, the discussion seeks to describe different categories of pedlar and trade practices covering, for example, goods, trade routes, cries, and prices. Relations between pedlar and bookshop keeper and also between the pedlars themselves are of particular interest here. London, the chief publishing centre in England, receives much attention, but provincial networks are also included in the analysis. The provincial city of Exeter, in Devon, is the focus of a regional case study.

The third chapter is about the pedlar in the Dutch distribution network and describes the range and characteristics of the itinerant book trade in the Netherlands. In order to allow consistent comparison with England, the structure of chapter 3 repeats that of chapter 2. Here too, therefore, the focus falls on the scale, categorisation and practices of pedlars, in this instance in the Dutch cities of Amsterdam, Leiden and Utrecht. This discussion will demonstrate repression by the booksellers' guilds and the authorities and will consider how these constraints changed over time.

The conclusion discusses the interplay between the itinerant book trade and the popular press in both the Netherlands and England. Here I address the question of whether the itinerant book trade was indeed a substantial economic force in the period between 1600 and 1850 that operated alongside the widespread official book trade in the highly urbanised Dutch society and the more rural English society, a discussion that also

lends itself to conclusions about the supposed distinction between pedlars and popular culture, on the one hand, and established booksellers and high culture, on the other. This conclusion also addresses the contradiction between the normative representation of pedlars and the more opportune reality. I will demonstrate that pedlars and their suppliers sometimes deliberately fostered a stereotype of 'underground' literature, well aware that in a growing and increasingly less-transparent market, it was necessary to stress distinctive features of their product. Finally, the connection between the features of the printed goods (form and content) and their distribution will be discussed.

CHAPTER ONE

REPUTATION AND REPRESENTATION

In Collaboration with Karen Bowen

In past centuries, pedlar or street vendor was an occupation of poor repute, its participants considered dishonest and systematically barred from the guilds and from official employment. In the social hierarchy of the early modern age, a pedlar was on the same level as a beggar, quack or other travelling charlatan. The pedlar's printed wares were considered seditious and in poor taste, a notion persistent among contemporaries that has also prevailed among later historians. For the latter, primarily negative representations have provided a strong incentive to downgrade the role of street sellers and the ambulant book trade in early modern Europe.¹

Still, despite the pedlar's apparently marginal position in society, some historians have pointed at the pedlar's significance as a cultural mediator. It has also become clear that the itinerant tradesman was not only in competition with established book commerce but was also its necessary extension. There was often fertile collaboration between the bookseller and the street vendor. This chapter will elaborate on one side of this paradox by unravelling the rich fabric of textual and visual representations of pedlars in the period between 1600 and 1850. The commercial role of the pedlar in the book trade is reconstructed in the subsequent chapters.²

The pedlar's image was multifaceted and produced in significant measure by parties that were not directly concerned with his occupation. Laurence Fontaine has shown that numerous contrasting representations are present in French religious literature: the hawker as the embodiment of evil and temptation, but also—because of his alleged liberty, humility and wisdom—as a symbol of Christ.³ This diversity in the tradition is

¹ See Scheidt, *Der Kolportagebuchhandel (1869–1905)*, pp. 15–17; Deceulaer, 'Dealing with diversity', p. 191.

² Tim Hitchcock fruitfully applied the same strategy of using a combination of narrative and archival sources when he described the social underworld of eighteenth-century London, see T. Hitchcock, *Down and out in eighteenth-century London*, London and New York 2004.

³ Fontaine, *History of pedlars*, pp. 3–4.

illustrated by Eric de Bruyn with reference to the figure of the pedlar on the panels of Hieronymus Bosch's *Hay Wain* triptych and an almost identical figure in *The Pedlar*. According to De Bruyn, positive and negative images were distributed equally. He found that the portrayal of the pedlar as deceitful and greedy, lecherous and unchaste, diabolic and heretical, and a dipsomaniac and gambler appears in juxtaposition to the image of the pedlar as the repentant sinner and the follower of Christ.⁴

The relationship between image and a changing reality is rife with questions, and systematic analysis of this phenomenon can further our understanding of the early modern book trade and, in particular, the role of the itinerant tradesman. But such an analysis faces several challenges. First of all, the distinction between reality and fiction in the available sources is blurred. For example, it has become evident that certain comic plays in the seventeenth and eighteenth century are not completely fictitious but rather contain references to pedlars who existed. Secondly, some sources, including archival records, are almost always normative. The Amsterdam confession books, for instance, a type of court record of which we have made extensive use, always reflect the misdoings of street sellers and say nothing of street trade that was either permitted or ignored. Thirdly, the negative image of the itinerant book trade created by book-sellers was mainly of urban origin, directed against local vendors. Outside the city, and thus beyond the area of direct trade and the guild's jurisdiction, itinerant trade was not so much of a threat. Indeed, urban pedlars who travelled the country enlarged the urban booksellers' market by carrying their products and thus supported the established book trade.⁵ Yet even as we recognise the biases and complexities of the sources, we believe it is possible to enhance our understanding of the characteristics and functions of the various types of pedlar that they portray, as well as of the motives of those who produced these images. To do so will help us comprehend the institutional, social and cultural conditions in which itinerant distribution networks were established and maintained in England and the Netherlands.

The processes of representation in both countries will be reconstructed from three angles. First, we will examine the image of pedlars created by

⁴ E. de Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch. De symboliek van de Hooiwagen-triptiek en de Rotterdamse Marskramers-Tondo verklaard vanuit Middelnederlandse teksten*, Den Bosch 2001, pp. 67–90.

⁵ On pedlars from Utrecht who travelled the surrounding countryside, see J. Salman, "Vreemde loopers en kramers." *De ambulante boekhandel in de achttiende eeuw*, *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis* 8 (2001), pp. 87–89.

others in the book business and by the local, regional and national authorities as set down in normative sources like guild protests, statutes, trade magazines, police interrogations and minutes of church councils. The second perspective takes in the more indirect literary and visual representations of pedlars, a process that went back centuries and had widely varying manifestations.⁶ It is important to establish to what extent literary and artistic conventions determined the nature of representations, and to what extent social reality correlated with the artistic depiction.⁷ A third point of view is provided by the pedlars themselves, for a small but very informative number of ego documents by pedlars has come down to us. These sources throw light on the social ambitions of the pedlars, their sometimes idealised self-image, and their attitudes towards the printed matter they distributed.

Confusing Terminology

'Pedlar', a rather imprecise and all-purpose term, describes a heterogeneous category of individuals who traded in merchandise of limited size. In Europe there was a great variety of names for this profession; in Germany, every city might use another term. Many names for itinerant tradesmen were assigned by others and often had negative connotations.⁸ For the Dutch Republic and England we shall use contemporary terms, such as 'pedlar' and 'hawker' [*marskramer*], 'ballad singer' [*liedjeszanger*], and 'street vendor' or 'street crier' [*omloper*], alongside neutral general terms such as 'itinerant bookseller' or 'street bookseller' that tend to be employed by historians. The concept of the 'itinerant bookseller' covers all traders in printed matter who did not possess a regular shop. Pedlars sold all kinds of merchandise, but the focus in this study is on those pedlars who had printed material amongst their wares.

Reconstruction of contemporary terms is useful because these designations reveal activities and reputations. *Liedjeszangers* [ballad singers] were people who, with or without a musical instrument, tried to sell printed songs by singing them in public.⁹ In the Netherlands, *marskramer*

⁶ See De Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, and Fontaine, *History of pedlars*, pp. 81–82.

⁷ Verkruysse, *De marskramer* 1993, vol. 1; Salman, "'Vreemde lopers en kramers'".

⁸ Fontaine, *History of pedlars*, p. 2.

⁹ The ballad singer distributed in particular songs on plano sheets, printed on one side; F.K.H. Kossmann, *De Nederlandsche straatzanger en zijn liederen in vroeger eeuwen*, Kampen 1941, pp. 26–38. See also R. Martin, 'De liedjeszanger als massamedium. Straatzangers in de achttiende en negentiende eeuw,' *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 97 (1984), pp. 422–446.

[pedlar] is commonly used as a broad inclusive term for pedlars with a pack or basket who mainly travelled between city and countryside, going from door to door to sell their goods. According to the sources, while *kramer* could refer to a travelling pedlar, it could also designate a sedentary shop owner or a small-scale merchant. In the sixteenth century, a shopkeeper was generally referred to as *kramer*. The term *winkel* [shop] was used for the first time in the seventeenth century.¹⁰ Gradually *kramer* became synonymous with *marskramer*. A 1630 Utrecht placard refers to 'kramers' who went from door to door with a 'marsse' [pack].¹¹ Other synonyms for *marskramer* were *venter* and *leurder* [street trader or, if the individual sold fruit and vegetables, costermonger], which can stand on their own or be used in compounds such as *ventjager* [street hunter] and *rondleurder* [walking pedlar].¹² The *venter* [street vendor] was close to a beggar and operated mainly in the city. The term *leuren* was more common in the provinces of Overijssel, Zeeland, Vlaanderen and Brabant. The word *omloper* [crier] was reserved for people who sold their wares only within the city.¹³ Concepts like *loper* and *platloper* [rambler] were rarely used to refer to a pedlar in the countryside.¹⁴ The term *koomen*, derived from *koopman* [merchant], was sometimes used for *marskramer*, as can be seen in contemporary literature and pamphlets.¹⁵

The expressions 'colporteur' and 'colporteren', derived from the French *colporteur*, are used in reference to the ambulant sale of printed wares in particular.¹⁶ In the Netherlands 'colporteur' was first used systematically in the nineteenth century, probably as a result of French surveys carried out in the years 1810–1811, in which the word made its entry.¹⁷ We have found only one earlier usage of the term 'colporteur', in a 1770 response by the booksellers of Amsterdam to a proposed placard of the States General.

¹⁰ For the concepts 'mars' and 'kramer' see *WNT*. See also A. Th. van Deursen, *Een Hollands dorp in de polder*, Amsterdam 1994, pp. 125–126, and for the sixteenth century, L. van Nierop, 'De handeldrijvende middenstand te Amsterdam in 1742', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 45 (1953), pp. 193–230; H. de la Fontaine Verwey, *Meester Harman Schinckel. Een Delftse boekdrukker van de 16e eeuw*, Rotterdam 1963, pp. 59–60, 74, n. 40, and J. Salman, *Populair drukwerk in de Gouden Eeuw. De almanak als lectuur en handelswaar*, Zutphen 1999, pp. 300–302.

¹¹ J. van de Water, *Groot Placaatboek vervattende alle de placaten, ordonnantien en edicten, der Edele Mogende Heeren Staten's Lands van Utrecht*; [...], 3 vols. Utrecht 1729, 3: 782.

¹² *WNT*.

¹³ *WNT*; Van Nierop, 'De handeldrijvende middenstand te Amsterdam in 1742', pp. 201–202.

¹⁴ *WNT*, see 'afloopen', 'platlopen' and 'boer'.

¹⁵ See 'Koomen' in the *WNT*.

¹⁶ *WNT*.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

The booksellers aired their grievances after they had been accused of spreading blasphemous books – they argued vehemently in their protests that this activity had been the work of pedlars, hawkers and vagabonds – and made reference to ‘colporteurs’ as it was used ‘by the French’, for pedlars who distributed books and prints.¹⁸

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* a pedlar, or ‘peddler’, is ‘an itinerant trader or dealer in small goods, especially a trader who goes from door to door with goods carried in a pack’. In England ‘pedlar’ is a term often associated with a petty chapman or hawker. A hawker is defined as a person who ‘goes from place to place selling goods, or who cries them in the street’. The relationship with the term ‘hawk’ is not entirely clear, but it seems possible that a hawker always concentrated on his prey just like a hawk. In the late nineteenth century the difference between a pedlar and a hawker was that the latter carried his wares on an animal or cart, whereas the former used a pack on his back. Originally, ‘hawker’ seems to have had a more negative connotation than ‘pedlar’. The seventeenth-century *London Gazette* describes ‘a sort of loose and idle persons, called hawkers, who do daily publish and sell seditious books, contrary to law’. In the eighteenth century, pedlars might also be involved in questionable activities. In *Gulliver’s Travels* (1726), Jonathan Swift makes pedlars members of a bad company: ‘The first seemed to be an Assembly of Heroes and Demy-Gods; the other a Knot of Pedlars, Pick-pockets, High-way-men and Bullies.’ The term ‘huckster’ was also frequently used in England and is defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as a ‘retailer of small goods, in a petty shop or booth, or at a stall; a pedlar, a hawker’.¹⁹ Interestingly, in the 1640s the word ‘publish’ had broader connotations than it has today, used not only in the sense of ‘making public’ but also in the more general sense of ‘general dispersal’. A parliamentary committee was appointed to ‘have power to suppress the Publishing in the Streets, by Ballad-singers, Pamphlets and Ballads scandalous to Parliament’.²⁰ The literary representation of the pedlar changed radically in the nineteenth century. For the educated classes in England in particular, the pedlar became an increasingly positive symbol of a traditional countryside set against the corruption of modern city life.²¹

¹⁸ *Nieuwe Nederlandsche jaerboeken* [...], 1770, 5: 798, 806, 842.

¹⁹ See the lemma ‘huckster’ in *OED Online*, December 2012, Oxford University Press, www.oed.com (accessed 21 February 2013).

²⁰ D.F. McKenzie, *The London book trade in the later seventeenth century*, Cambridge 1976, p. 24.

²¹ Fontaine, *History of pedlars*, pp. 3–4.

AUTHORITIES AND BOOKSELLERS

The reputation of pedlars was largely moulded by authorities and book-sellers' organisations, for these bodies formulated the pertinent legal and professional rules and punished deviant behaviour. Their opinions of the itinerant book trade are laid down, directly and indirectly, in ordinances, placards, charters, requests and newsletters. From the English sources we learn that from the sixteenth century onwards, pedlars and hawkers were often seen as potential criminals and rogues. In the seventeenth century, when their numbers grew and some became sedentary, both their commercial competition with local merchants and book-sellers and their distribution of subversive pamphlets added to their negative image.²² With the Restoration, press control in England increased and itinerant distribution faced suppression. According to Margaret Spufford, Parliament's interest after 1675 in controlling the itinerant trade can be explained simply by that trade's growing size and importance.²³ Maureen Bell has suggested that press control was a product of growing fear about the dissemination of seditious pamphlets and other controversial material.²⁴ The reconstruction of seventeenth-century legislation and repression that follows provides ample evidence in support of Bell's view.

A Growing Danger in England

The English Civil War marks the start of a crucial phase in the regulation and suppression of pedlars and hawkers as political printing became an important participant in the battle between Monarchists and Parliamentarians. After an initial period of juridical chaos in the early 1640s, the Parliamentarians tightened the reins again. In 1647 and 1648 they tried to ban 'libellous pamphlets and ballads' that were 'scandalous to Parliament or its proceedings'. Along with authors, printers and booksellers, street vendors and ballad singers were regarded as great dangers to the social order.²⁵ Many actions against street traders can be found in the *Journals of*

²² M. Bell, 'Sturdy rogues and vagabonds: Restoration control of pedlars and hawkers', in P.C.G. Isaac and B. McKay (eds), *The mighty engine: the printing press and its impact*, Winchester and New Castle, Del. 2000, p. 91.

²³ Spufford, *The great reclothng*, p. 14; Bell, 'Sturdy rogues and vagabonds', p. 89.

²⁴ Bell, 'Sturdy rogues and vagabonds', pp. 91–94. Bell stated, 'by the time of the Restoration the long-standing perception of the criminal potential of pedlars was explicitly connected with the circulation of printed matter offensive to the government' (p. 91).

²⁵ D.F. McKenzie and M. Bell, *The chronology and calendar of documents relating to the London book trade 1641–1700*, Oxford 2005, dd. 03-02-1647 and 23-09-1648.

the *House of Commons (CJ)* and the *Journals of the House of Lords (LJ)*. Local authorities such as the London Common Council also printed and distributed regulations for pedlars and hawkers.²⁶

The interests of English publishers and booksellers coincided with those of the authorities, although the motives of the former were more economical than political or social. In England, regulation of the printing press was in the hands of the Stationers' Company. Every published work other than acts of Parliament and proclamations had to be entered in the register of the Stationers' Company in London. To prevent smuggling, all booksellers had to import their books through the port of London, and before they could offer their printed wares for sale, they had to obtain a license from the archbishop of Canterbury or the bishop of London.²⁷

The punishment for hawkers and pedlars caught carrying 'unlicensed books' differed from that for authors, printers and publishers: while the latter had to pay fines, the former were 'wipt as common rogues'.²⁸ In the eyes of the central government, hawkers and pedlars were vagabonds and outsiders rather than political offenders.²⁹ From the 1640s until the 1660s, the national authorities repeatedly urged the local authorities in London to take action against street traders and pamphlet and ballad sellers,³⁰ and the authorities often called on the Stationers' Company to help find and arrest these street sellers.³¹

During the Civil War, the Stationers' Company cooperated with the Parliamentarians in order to prevent the circulation of libellous pamphlets and ballads. On 7 August 1642, for instance, they supported an act to suppress hawkers.³² Both were particularly concerned about the distribution of pamphlets and ballads in public places such as the Exchange.³³

²⁶ See, for instance, McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, dd. 09-10-1643: *An Act of the Common Councell, for the prohibiting of ... putting to sale ... any pamphlets, books, or papers whatsoever, by way of hawking*, printed by Richard Cotes (BL, Wing L 2851P).

²⁷ Michael Dalton, *The Country Justice: containing the practice, duty and power of the Justices of peace [...]*, printed in the Savoy 1727, chap. 86, p. 260.

²⁸ McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, dd. 20-09-1647.

²⁹ See an ordinance of the House of Lords and House of Commons from 1647: McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, dd. 30-09-1647.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, dd. 07-01-1653, 28-08-1655, 05-12-1666, [05-12]-1666, April 1668.

³¹ *Ibid.*, dd. 01-06-1650, 06-06-1650.

³² *Ibid.*, dd. 07-08-1642. See also dd. 05-02-1644.

³³ *Ibid.*, dd. 02-04-1669, 13-01-1669. In the eighteenth century the Exchange remained an important selling centre for hawkers; see M. Hunt, 'Hawkers, bawlers, and mercuries: women and the London press in the early Enlightenment', in M. Hunt et al. (eds), *Women and the Enlightenment*, New York 1984, p. 46.

After the Restoration new forms of censorship and licensing were introduced. In this period of a growing demand for books, government and Stationers' Company attempted to control the printing presses and the content of printed books and pamphlets.³⁴ In 1668 the king ordered frequent searches in 'Printing houses and Booksellers shops for unlicensed and seditious Bookes and pamphlets (sic)'. No bookseller or printer was allowed to lend or dispose of 'anie Bookes whatsoever to Persons called Hawkers'. In the same year a printed order of 'His Majesty in Council' stated that the 'Lord Mayor and Aldermen and Justices of the Peace shall not permit or suffer any of those people called Hawkers, whether Men or Women, to carry about, cry, sell or disperse any Gazetts, News-books, Libells, or other pamphlets'.³⁵ In the 1670s, 1680s and 1690s, many more forms of suppression were targeted at 'Pedlars, hawkers, and petty chapmen'.³⁶ The government's fear of 'seditious, false and scandalous books' directed against the authorities led to a policy of stricter prosecution of authors, printers, booksellers and hawkers.³⁷ The Stationers' Company continued their actions against itinerant booksellers as well, although it could take some time for new measures to be approved.³⁸

At the same time, supporters and opponents of itinerant trade in general were conducting a public debate. In 1675 two pamphlets with opposing views were published. *An answer to the pretended reason of some drapers* tells of the benefit of pedlars for the people; *Reasons humbly offered to [...] Parliament by the drapers, mercers, haberdashers, grocers, hosiers and other trading house-keepers of this nation [...]* argues that contrary to the law, pedlars, hawkers and petty chapmen were distributing and selling goods that belonged to the petitioners and that if they were allowed to continue, their activities would certainly cause the ruin of these tradesmen.³⁹ Hawkers tried to defend themselves against such accusations, and prevent their suppression, by sending petitions to the London government. In 1685 they pleaded for a license system and suggested that after examination of their 'lives and conversations ... licence may be given to those found honest and loyal and having habitations'.⁴⁰

³⁴ J. Raven, *The business of books. Booksellers and the English book trade*, New Haven and London 2007, pp. 82–83.

³⁵ McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, dd. 10-08-1668. See also *ibid.*, dd. 01-09-1668.

³⁶ See, for instance, *ibid.*, dd. 03-05-1675 and 07-05-1675. See also examples on pp. 442, 451.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, dd. 31-01-1690.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, dd. 07-06-1675, 19-03-1678, 06-06-1678, 04-08-1679, 01-09-1679.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, dd. ?-05-1675.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, dd. 30-12-1685.

As a result of the tension around and after the supposed Popish Plot, in the 1680s the focus of political enactments was on Scottish pedlars. The authorities considered Scottish pedlars to be a symbol of dangerous Catholic influence and treacherous activities and in July 1683 some pedlars from Scotland were arrested on these grounds. Sir John Reresby reported in 1683 that over the previous ten or twelve months, more Scottish pedlars than usual had flocked to locations associated with faction, selling 'godly bukes, as they called them' and pamphlets from Scotland. Reresby believed these pedlars should be whipped and sent back as vagrants to their own country.⁴¹ In 1685 new bills against 'wandering Scotch pedlars' were prepared and published.⁴² Soon the legislation was applied to all foreign pedlars, be they Dutch, French or Spanish.⁴³ In a petition of May 1686 the handicraft and retail tradesmen of London proposed restrictions on foreign traders that included licensing.⁴⁴

Not only foreigner pedlars but also English pedlars were seen as a threat. On 4 August 1684 the Stationers' Company attacked the 'Streete Hawkers' because of their 'Sale of Counterfeit impressions'.⁴⁵ A manuscript petition of the Stationers' Company of 1684 bearing ninety-six signatures stated that hawkers did not pay rents, taxes or parish dues. Regular trade was hindered by 'the great number of hawkers and others exposing to sale great quantities of books, as well bound as stitched'.⁴⁶ The Stationers' Company offered the authorities their help in halting this irregular trade. In 1686 a committee started inspecting stallholders who sold books to see if they were members of the Stationers' Company and suggested registering all the hawkers 'that carry bags boxes & armfuls of bound bookes to sell about the streetes'.⁴⁷ The archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London should refuse licences to booksellers with a stall and the Secretary of State must be made aware that strangers were selling books without licence. The company was also concerned about hawkers who entered coffeehouses with books⁴⁸ and extended its attack on the

⁴¹ Ibid., dd. 11-07-1683, 14-07-1683, 15-07-1683, 16-07-1683, 14-01-1684, 04-02-1684, 28-02-1684.

⁴² Ibid., dd. 26-05-1685, 06-06-1685.

⁴³ Ibid., dd. 23-07-1686.

⁴⁴ 'That no stranger be licensed to travel or expose goods to sale as a hawker, pedlar or petty chapman', *ibid.*, dd. after 28-05-1686.

⁴⁵ Ibid., dd. 04-08-1684, see also 30-09-1685.

⁴⁶ McKenzie, *The London book trade*, p. 26.

⁴⁷ McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, dd. 05-03-1686 and 14-03-1687; see again 04-04-1687.

⁴⁸ Ibid., dd. 06-12-1686.

itinerant trade by claiming that customers also complained about 'divers Hawkers and Runners that carry bookes into inns Coffee houses and other places of resort to sell';⁴⁹ although it is doubtful that such complaints were really made, for many people benefited from the low prices and easy access to goods that these sellers provided. The Stationers' Company's activities led to a query as to 'whether Brokers or Joyners or other persons not Lyncenced or Free of this Company can utter or sell Bookes Old or new on their Stalls or in their Shoppes'.⁵⁰ As a result, in 1688 the company decided 'to admit several of them into the Freedome of this Company for reasonable Fines', but they added that this step was a singular act and would not be repeated in the future.⁵¹

Increased protests against pedlars and hawkers and growing repression resulted in piecemeal legalisation. In 1671 the trend towards administrative regulation was formalised when Colonel Grey and Mr Killigrew were granted permission to start an office for the licensing of pedlars and hawkers from England and Wales, who could obtain a license for twenty-one years.⁵² In 1686 the king proclaimed that pedlars and petty chapmen were not allowed to trade without a license.⁵³

This system does not appear to have been sufficiently effective, however. In the 1690s the Stationers' Company complained about hawkers who did not deserve the licenses they had received from the bishop of London.⁵⁴ They advised Parliament to issue a new act concerning these pedlars and started to lobby members.⁵⁵ A Parliamentary committee did indeed begin to prepare a bill against pedlars and hawkers.⁵⁶ The proposed license system would include all pedlars and hawkers in the country other than those who sold 'Acts of parliament, Forms of Prayer, Proclamations, Gazettes, licensed Almanacks, or any other public papers licensed by authority'.⁵⁷ Special rights covering whole classes of books

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid., dd. 05-03-1686.

⁵¹ Ibid., dd. 07-05-1688.

⁵² In 1671 the officeholders had to pay a rent of 1,000 pounds, but in 1686 it had risen to 5,000 pounds per year; *ibid.*, dd. 04-05-1671, 25-01-1686.

⁵³ Ibid., dd. 07-05-1686.

⁵⁴ Ibid., dd. 08-10-1690.

⁵⁵ Ibid., dd. 15-10-1690.

⁵⁶ Ibid., dd. 01-12-1690. Many readings and amendments followed.

⁵⁷ Ibid., dd. 17-02-1693. These exemptions were repeated in the eighteenth century. NA Kew, T 1/498/147-154, England and Wales, Miscellaneous: Commissioner for licensing hawkers, pedlars and petty chapmen: memorial and suggestions for amendment to existing legislation 1773, 1774 Nov., May.

that were already in existence before 1696 provided numerous opportunities for urban street sellers who did not hold licenses.⁵⁸

Merchants and retail traders anticipated these risks and therefore raised objections to the new legislation. In February 1696, they presented a petition of 'divers Merchants and Traders in and about the City of London' to Parliament. They feared that the bill 'for suppressing of Hawkers and Pedlars' would be greatly 'destructive to the trade of all Corporations and Market-Towns in England', for it would give legal protection to the 'numerous Company of Scotchmen' (their permanent enemy) and 'other wandering Persons'; the merchants pointed out that these persons did not 'contribute to the Support of the Government'.⁵⁹ In spite of the protests, on 16 April 1697 royal assent was given to 'An Act for licensing Hawkers and Pedlars'.⁶⁰ This act, which covered all itinerant traders in all sorts of goods, prepared the way for additional regulation of trade in printed material. One example is provided by legislative steps taken against ballad singers in the streets of London. These itinerant singers and sellers of songs were considered as dangerous as pedlars and hawkers. In 1705 the Court of the President and Governors for the Poor wanted to clear ballad singers from the streets and send them to workhouses; in the 1710s and 1720s ballad singers were prosecuted for singing Jacobite and anti-Hanoverian songs; half a century later, in the 1770s, obscene ballads were a target of the Court of Bridewell.⁶¹

The licensing system of 1697 was repeatedly violated. Michael Dalton's *The Country Justice: containing the practice, duty and power of the Justices of peace* of 1727 paid special attention to 'pedlars and hawkers'. Dalton deemed trading without a license a major offence for which a fine of twelve pounds should be imposed. A guilty party who failed to pay the fine should be committed 'as a vagrant ... to the House of Correction'. One could support the Justices of the Peace by detaining a hawker and urging him to produce his license. If the hawker was unable to fulfil this request, then the 'Parish-Officer' was to be called upon to bring the offender before a Justice of the Peace.⁶²

The evidence suggests that in line with Bell's argumentation, after the Restoration the itinerant distribution of books and pamphlets was strongly

⁵⁸ M. Treadwell, 'The stationers and the printing acts at the end of the seventeenth century', in J. Barnard, D.F. McKenzie and M. Bell (eds), *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, vol. 4: 1557–1695, Cambridge 2002, p. 726.

⁵⁹ McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, dd. 04-02-1696.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, dd. 16-04-1697.

⁶¹ Hitchcock, *Down and out*, pp. 67–68.

⁶² Dalton, *The Country Justice*, chap. 48, p. 144 and chap. 86, p. 260.

politicised and, as a result, repressed. After the Licensing Act of 1697 came into force, however, we can observe a shift towards more economically motivated objections to and legislation against itinerant trade. Protests against pedlars as unfair competitors were not limited to their sale of books; their activities as a whole were an issue in the eighteenth-century retail business. A pamphlet entitled *The Ax laid to the Root of the corrupt Tree* of 1740–1741 is highly illustrative of this attitude.⁶³ This text was written by a ‘Liveryman’, printed for the author, and sold by J. Huggonson and at pamphlet shops. Livery companies of the city of London were trade organisations like guilds that controlled, for example, wages and working conditions; contemporary examples include the Worshipful Company of Mercers and the Worshipful Company of the Fishmongers, as well as the Stationers’ Company itself. Significantly, only liveryman could take part in the election of the Lord Mayor of the City of London and of sheriffs and other officers. This pamphlet can therefore be understood as an instrument of political pressure and lobbyism.

The liveryman addresses the ‘Hard Case of the Retaile-Traders, Citizens, Shopkeepers, &c. of the City of London’. He complains that hawkers and pedlars are invading their trades and makes evident that he fears being overrun by ‘Thousands of Foreigners, as *Jews, Infidels, and Vagabonds*, of most Countries and Nations, coming into the City in Swarms, hawking and selling almost every sort of wares and merchandizes, to the manifest Detriment of us, the Legal and truly vested *Shop-keepers*’. For the author, hawkers and pedlars are strangers who come from outside the city and its jurisdiction, although in practice many criers and street sellers would have been Londoners. He complains about the Common Council, which, he claims, has not been willing to help the shopkeepers. In the Netherlands too, the guilds constantly pressed the local magistrates to take more action. The author is also unhappy with magistrates in other cities who have failed to support requests to Parliament. He suspects these authorities are more interested in the ‘Revenue that arises from the Licenses’ (6–7) than in helping their own retailers.

The author then refers to a misunderstanding about the legitimacy of the pedlars’ and hawkers’ licenses. Most ‘common-council-men’ think that hawkers with a license can freely ‘hawk in the city’, but in the author’s words, ‘this insinuation is groundless’. He quotes an act of 1694 (which preceded the Licensing Act of 1697): ‘this Act [...] shall not extend, or be construed to extend, to give any Power for the Licensing of any Hawker,

⁶³ British Library 8244.c.20.

Pedlar, or Petty Chapman, to sell, or expose to Sale any Wares or Merchandizes, in any City, Borough, Town-corporate, or Market-Town within this Realm' (7). What is more, the constables are not capable of performing their task because there are so many pedlars and hawkers. The author points with a certain envy to the situation in Bristol, which has not experienced such an invasion of hawkers; there the aforementioned act is still in force.⁶⁴

The author notes that on the advice of a candidate in the forthcoming elections for Parliament, the shopkeepers had petitioned the Court of Aldermen with their grievances, but to no end. Worse still was the act concerning vagabonds issued by Queen Anne because according to the writer, in this new act hawkers are no longer listed as 'vagabonds', as they definitely should be. The candidate (his 'Lordship') is unable to help them further and advises them to take recourse to common law, but the author considers this step impossible because there are so many hawker and pedlars and their places of abode are rarely known. The streets are, he writes, 'infested with a great Number of Women, Boys, and Girls, especially of *Jews*, that constantly are seen hawking; whom to sue at Common Law (which doth not hold to Bail) would be endless, their Names and Places of Abode not being easily found, or, if sound for the present, are soon changed' (13–14). The author more or less concludes that the Parliamentary candidate is in fact an enemy of the 'retale trade of the city', because unlike inhabitants or even shopkeepers in the city, every freeman has the right 'to wander the streets, and to other Men's houses, about the city, hawking' (16). Then the author brings his most important weapon to the fray: he advises his colleagues to withhold their vote at the upcoming elections if the candidate does not address these abuses.

The writer admits that some of his colleagues are on the wrong side of his cause. They seek to influence the magistrate and the court of aldermen, 'because the Hawkers are the best, if not at present the only Chaps the Wholesale Traders have, to vend their damaged and unsaleable Goods, and the City of London is one of the best Markets for them to dispose thereof' (17). We shall have cause to recall this statement, for as we shall see later, the same frustration was also voiced by members of the Dutch bookseller guilds in the eighteenth century. In a kind of dialogue the

⁶⁴ This situation changed radically in the eighteenth century. In 1772, 163 shopkeepers in Bristol signed and presented an address to Lord Clare, Member of Parliament for Bristol, in which they complained of the 'fraudulent devices and unfair practices of the hawkers and pedlars who travel about the country'. They asked for his assistance by suppressing in Parliament the trade of those people; see *Gentleman's Magazine* 42 (1772), p. 594.

author sums up the benefits of the local street trade. Some people, for example, find the hawkers useful because they help to dispose of 'abundance of wares and merchandize, both damaged and sound'. The wholesale men who support too many hawkers must be seen, however, as 'enemies of the city'. According to the author, customers are very often cheated. Hawkers must be limited not only in the cities and corporations but also in market towns, other than on market days. Pedlars are allowed to sell in villages, where the shops are but few and small. And last but not least, people should not be afraid that prices will rise too greatly, because every city has someone who will undercut a price.

The author finishes with a call to increase political pressure:

Thus, my fellow-citizens, Inhabitants, Shopkeepers, Retailers etc (I ask you) to put the former questions to all candidates, and demand their positive answer to them; that you will be so just to yourselves and posterity, to elect men who give you the best assurances, and are the most capable to perform their promises; and that you with me will resent the usage we have met with from the present negligent or wilful opposers. (40–41)

And he adds, 'the retale livery-men of this city are by far the major part of the voters'.

This pamphlet makes clear that the battle between regular trade and irregular trade was still very much alive in the eighteenth century in spite of the Licensing Act. It also suggests, however, that there was a great deal of confusion about the extent of its regulations, especially in urban areas. Furthermore, it shows that the economic position of the street traders was significant, not the least because official shopkeepers, including booksellers, needed their networks to reach the popular markets. A nineteenth-century example of the Licensing Act's lack of clarity can be found in a trial that stemmed from the illegal activities of a Falmouth bookseller and stationer, James Philip. In 1831 Philip travelled to Penzance with 'a quantity of books and some other articles for the purpose of disposing of them by public auction'. In his defence he claimed that he did not know that such auctions were illegal, but he had to pay a fine of 50 pounds, with 20 pounds for costs.⁶⁵

In a provincial town such as Exeter the local shopkeepers' lobby against pedlars was as strong as that in London. Although itinerant booksellers are not specifically mentioned, they must have been included in the

⁶⁵ NA Kew, IR 51/5, Entry book of letters between the Treasury and the Board of Stamps and the Board of Stamps and Taxes concerning hackney carriage and hawkers' and pedlars' licences, 1831 Nov–1834 June, fols. 27–28.

shopkeepers' protests. In 1785 the shopkeepers gained the support of the local members of Parliament for the several parishes of Exeter for a bill in Parliament. Their petition aimed at 'suppressing Hawkers and Pedlars, or otherwise prohibiting them from vending their goods in cities and market towns, or within two miles of them, on market days, or otherwise, so as effectually, to prevent the evil complained of'. In short, the shopkeepers did not want any form of itinerant trade in their vicinity and asked for the abolition of the Licensing Act. They complained not only about their loss of revenue ('many thousand pounds in real money') but also about trade in stolen and smuggled goods. The 'resident traders' – who paid shop and other taxes – 'have been under the necessity of giving credit (to their customers)' and 'remain at the same time unpaid'. Their 'stock in trade, which they must be supplied with, is left on their hands a considerable time, without the usual demand for it'.⁶⁶ Although the Licensing Act was not abolished, Parliament agreed to double the license fee for pedlars. Only a few members of Parliament opposed the idea of restricting all urban trade solely to residents.⁶⁷ Some counties, East and West Kent for example, were exempted from the provisions of the 1785 act that stated that no hawker or pedlar could sell his goods in any country.⁶⁸

Tolerance, Repression and Economic Interests in the Netherlands

Economic and social interests were also at stake in the Dutch Republic. That local and regional authorities often associated singing and hawking in the streets with begging is illustrated by Rotterdam placards of 1614 and 1632 in which hawking, singing and music making are regarded as strategies adopted by beggars to conceal their real purposes.⁶⁹ Still, contemporary social stratification understood real pedlars as petty traders and therefore of higher standing than a beggar. Their status can be read from the first part of the *Vereenighde Nederlandschen raedt* of 1628, in which the author speculates about the end of the war with Spain. When there is peace everyone will profit: the beggar will become a pedlar and the pedlar will become a shop owner.⁷⁰ There are more examples in which social

⁶⁶ *Exeter Flying Postman*, dd. 30-06-1785.

⁶⁷ *Gentleman's Magazine* 55 (1785), pp. 836, 867, 868, 886, 1014.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 917.

⁶⁹ E. Palmen, Kaat Mossel, *Helleveeg van Rotterdam. Volk en Verlichting in Rotterdam in de achttiende eeuw*, Amsterdam 2009, pp. 166–167.

⁷⁰ 'die hier een bedelaer is, sal dadelijck, daer een Kramer zijn, die een Kramer is, een Winckelhouder', *Vereenighde Nederlandschen raedt* (1628), p. 17.

mobility is presented as a real option. In a poem from 1672, Jacob Westerbaen commented on social mobility among French pedlars in The Hague, who, he notes, at first had carried a pedlar's pack but now might even own more than one shop.⁷¹

As in England in this period, the dissemination of political pamphlets and songs was of great concern for those in power. In Utrecht as early as 1610, we find a resolution by the urban government that strictly forbade the singing, crying or dissemination of seditious libels, songs and verses.⁷² In Amsterdam in 1648, a statute against hawking and displaying songs, prints, newspapers and other printed matter was issued, just as it was also forbidden to sing songs or read texts publically. If such an offence was committed, the culprit's stock was to be seized and he was liable for a fine of 6 guilders. Recidivists paid twice that penalty and in the case of a third offence legal proceedings would be initiated.⁷³ From 1660 on, and in particular in the period from 1670 to 1700, legislation against the activities of street booksellers in Amsterdam grew. Specific pamphlet titles were increasingly the target of press control.⁷⁴ Although there are striking similarities with the situation in post-Restoration England described earlier in this chapter, there is also a striking contrast in that no centralised legal instrument along the lines of the Licensing Act was brought to bear in the Republic.

Within the increasing censorship in Holland and Utrecht in the period from 1660 to 1680, we can detect a growing fear of the dissemination of subversive material such as pamphlets. Newspapers were also distrusted by the authorities in this period for they sometimes revealed affairs of state and not infrequently insulted friendly nations.⁷⁵ Commercial realities explain the greater attention given to itinerant booksellers. From 1670 onwards the book industry in the Dutch Republic as a whole, and to a lesser extent in Amsterdam, was in decline, giving regular booksellers

⁷¹ Jacob Westerbaen, *Gedichten*, 3 vols. The Hague 1672. See the poem 'Onderwysingh voor de vrysters', 2: 714–715.

⁷² Utrechts archief [Utrecht archive], 'Tegen het drukken en dissemineeren van Pasquillen en Fameuse Libellen', [...] in *Generale inhoud van alle de Placaten, Ordonnantien, Resolutien, Statuten, Edicten, Handvesten, Privilegien, en andere Acten, begrepen in Ses Registers op het Groot Utrechts Placaetboek, Vermelt op de Bladzyde na de Voorrede volgende* [...] *Utrecht* 1733, Vol. I, p. 426, dd. 18-10-1610.

⁷³ S. Kemper, 'Colportage in de Republiek. De betekenis van de zeventiende-eeuwse boekramer', M.A. thesis, Leiden 1989, pp. 34–35.

⁷⁴ R. Harms, *Pamfletten en publieke opinie. Massamedia in de zeventiende eeuw*, Amsterdam 2011, pp. 147–151.

⁷⁵ I. Weekhout, *Boekencensuur in de Noordelijke Nederlanden. De vrijheid van drukpers in de zeventiende eeuw*, The Hague 1998, p. 55.

greater reason to champion the suppression of irregular trade. In 1678 representatives of the Amsterdam booksellers' guild sent a request to the local authorities pressing them to take action against a 'large crowd of older and younger people, who are too lazy to work and therefore resort to hawking books, newspapers and libels on the streets'. As a result of unfair competition, 'respectable booksellers' were no longer able to pay their rents and taxes. What was more, the books these pedlars carried were seditious, scandalous, and full of lies.⁷⁶

A mix of economic and political arguments against pedlars can be found after 1750, when the Amsterdam booksellers' guild again pressed for greater regulation of street sellers and pedlars.⁷⁷ Numerous ordinances reveal the booksellers' greatest fears. In a draft of a guild letter from 1761 that was meant for booksellers, printers and binders, explicit reference is made to 'omlopers', a reference to the local hawkers who distributed printing in the city of Amsterdam.⁷⁸ In 1770 the booksellers of Amsterdam unhesitatingly pointed a finger at local pedlars and street vendors when a placard to be issued by the States General accused them of disseminating 'blasphemous books and writings'. It was the pedlars, the booksellers claimed, who bought such books in 'foreign countries' and hawked them at various obscure places in town. A non-sedentary pedlar could circumvent an edict much more easily than a respectable bookseller.⁷⁹

In 1773 three Amsterdam booksellers complained about the number and size of bookstalls and in particular that street sellers sold 'respectable' books at below market price. These stallholders can be understood as an intermediary layer between regular bookshops and travelling pedlars, but in many cases they were as distrusted as the latter. The culprits were sent for by the leaders of the booksellers' guild and pressed to abandon these practices.⁸⁰ Guild protests and statutes also reveal that pedlars were used

⁷⁶ P.J. Verkruijsse, 'De verspreiding van populaire literatuur', in T. Anbeek and M.A. Schenkeveld-Van der Dussen (eds), *Nederlandse literatuur, een geschiedenis*, Groningen 1993, pp. 292–297.

⁷⁷ W. Frijhoff and M. Prak (eds), *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam*: vol. 2: 2, *Zelfbewuste stadstaat 1650–1813*, Amsterdam 2005, p. 258.

⁷⁸ *Almanach der Boekverkoopers, drukkers, en binders [...]*, The Hague, H. Scheurleer and F. Zoon, 1761 (UB Amsterdam OK 59 253).

⁷⁹ *Nieuwe Nederlandsche jaerboeken [...]*, part 5 (1770), pp. 798, 806, 842.

⁸⁰ UB Amsterdam, KVB Archief *Boekverkoopers-, boekdrukkers- en boekbindersgilde* Amsterdam B 52, not foliated, 14 June 1773. The three malefactors were H. Bos, S. Hartman and a certain Van den Berg. I would like to thank Hannie van Goinga for this reference. See also I.H. van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel, 1680–1725*, 5 vols. Amsterdam 1961–78, 5: 267.

as scapegoats.⁸¹ In the 1775 edition of the periodical *De Koopman*, some Amsterdam booksellers commented on the decline of the respectable book trade. They criticised the printers of tasteless books who earned their money with *Uilenspiegels*, but spoke out even more strongly against the growing number of 'marktkraamers' [bookstall holders] to be found on the locks in the city of Amsterdam. These men were not even burghers, let alone guild members. Auctioneers who brought older books into circulation were also undermining the system, because these books were resold by street sellers on bridges ['brugkooplui']. The booksellers proclaimed that those who distributed newspapers, a privilege of the guild members ['een oud privilege der Gildebroeders'], deserved more respect than ill-reputed guild members who sold 'trashy' books.⁸²

That the authorities supported the initiatives of the booksellers and issued placards is revealing of how pedlars and ballad singers were viewed. In 1789 the States of Holland issued a placard against 'vagabonds, rogues and beggars', and it is telling that pedlars and ballad singers were also included in this group, unless they had the permission, to be renewed annually, of the local authorities of their place of residence. These placards were to be posted at inns, bars and overnight lodgings in the countryside and the cities. Furthermore, a placard was to be displayed in a clearly visible place in all cargo ships and barges. This placard was to be republished every year, on the second Sunday of October.⁸³ A placard issued by the States of Utrecht in 1763 was the first in that province to list 'liedjeszangers' [ballad singers] alongside vagabonds and beggars.⁸⁴ That provincial governments started license systems in these years is evidence that pedlars, ballad singers and other itinerant figures were considered a growing nuisance.⁸⁵

Booksellers were annoyed that pedlars did not have to pay the same costs as they did and were therefore unfair competition. Pedlars did not

⁸¹ See the draft of a booksellers' guild letter from 1761 that explicitly refers to 'omlopers', meaning the local hawkers that distribute printing in the city of Amsterdam. *Almanach der Boekverkoopers, drukkers, en binders* [...], The Hague, H. Scheurleer and F. Zoon, 1761 (UB Amsterdam OK 59 253).

⁸² *De Koopman, of weekelyksche by-dragen ten opbouw van Neêrlands koophandel en zeevaard* (1775), pp. 119–123, www.bibliopolis.nl/LBB/LBB_26k59_175.

⁸³ *Groot plaacaet boeck*, 1658–1796, 9: 1789: 'Placaat van de Staaten van Holland, tegen de Landloopers, Vagabonden en Bedelaars. Den 30 October 1789'.

⁸⁴ *Vervolg van Mr. Johan van de Waters Groot Plakkaatboek's lands van Utrecht. Van den vroegsten tijd af tot het jaar 1805*, Utrecht 1856, vol. 1, no. 36, p. 942.

⁸⁵ Utrechts archief, Hof van Utrecht, inv. no. 135-1, 135-2, *Lijsten van personen, aan wie vergund is hunne nering ten plattelande uit te oefenen 1763–1808*. On this license system, see chapter 3 below.

pay rent, municipal taxes or guild membership fees, which helped them keep their prices low. Furthermore, they sold lower quality products or marginal and risky items.⁸⁶ Shop rents in eighteenth-century Amsterdam were indeed substantial. In 1742 sixteen local booksellers with an income between 600 and 1000 guilders a year, each paid 50 to 60 per cent of their income as rent.⁸⁷

Despite such hostile rhetoric, the guild knew very well that it was itself in part to blame, for its members often supplied the shadier trade. In early eighteenth-century Amsterdam, for example, collaboration between street vendors and manufacturers of pirate editions was thought to be one of the greatest threats to the book trade. The itinerant trade caused a schism within the guild itself, for while some members supplied the illegal trade in books and were involved in the evasion of fixed prices, pirate editions and the sale of banned books, other members traded according to guild regulations.

Sometimes the booksellers' guild did attempt to eradicate the abuses among its own members. The extent of the intertwining of the regular and irregular book trades is evident from these cases. The Amsterdam booksellers Andries van Damme and Jacobus (I) van Egmont, for example, were indicted in a guild request from 1712 for selling pirated editions. Van Egmont had not attempted to conceal his illegal practices and his dealings with pedlars, for in the back of his own publications he advertised the illegal wares that he offered for sale. He acknowledged his guilt, but justified his behaviour by arguing that he had no other option if he were to stay afloat.⁸⁸ The interdependence of illegal print and ambulant distribution was an international phenomenon. Robert Darnton argued that in eighteenth-century France, hawkers were the most important distributors of illegal print.⁸⁹ For Laurence Fontaine, the expansion of illegal print is an indication of the growth of itinerant trade; moreover, she emphasises that in some regions of France, pedlars even specialised in the illegal book trade.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ B.W. de Vries, *From pedlars to textile barons. The economic development of a Jewish minority group in the Netherlands*, Amsterdam 1989, p. 42.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ I.H. van Eeghen, *De gilden: Theorie en praktijk*, Bussum 1974, pp. 124–125; Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, 3: 133; M.M. Kleerkooper and W.P. van Stockum Jr., *De boekhandel te Amsterdam voornamelijk in de zeventiende eeuw: Biographische en geschiedkundige aantekeningen*, The Hague 1914–16, 1: 848–849; Verkruijssse, *De marskramer* (1994), pp. 34–40; H. van Goinga, *Alom te bekomen: Veranderingen in de boekdistributie in de Republiek 1720–1800*, Amsterdam 1999, pp. 126–127.

⁸⁹ R. Darnton, *Édition et sédition: L'univers de la littérature clandestine au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 1999, pp. 57–72.

⁹⁰ Fontaine, *History of pedlars*, pp. 40–43, 190–191.

The existence of placards, prosecutions and protests against pedlars does not mean that itinerant booksellers always acted against the law. There was probably a lively and extensive legal street trade in material such as pamphlets, newspapers, almanacs, charters and songbooks.⁹¹ The problem is that these law-abiding itinerants mostly remain silent. Some sources reveal that street vendors were an important and appreciated extension of the chain of news production. In his journal *Amsterdamsche Mercurius*, for example, Jan van Gysen (1668–1722), a hack writer and satirist, describes a variety of circumstances in his dealings with his publishers, Hendrik van Monnem and the aforementioned Jacobus van Egmont. Among his complaints is that street vendors pressure him to deliver his *Mercurius* (a *Spectator*-like periodical), and their livelihood, in time. Van Gysen considers Van Egmont the stronger player because Van Monnem did not control such a large and steady network of street vendors,⁹² which probably explains why around 1711 Van Gysen began to offer his work to Van Egmont. Van Egmont in turn welcomed Van Gysen as a new author in his publisher's list because he expected large sales.⁹³ Well-established connections with the itinerant trade were no disqualification then, but rather an enviable advantage.

If regular booksellers were to a large extent dependent on itinerant traders, why did they prolong the negative image of the pedlar? Most likely, commercial motives were involved. First, their low standing and irregular activities prevented the pedlars from becoming a powerful economic force and strengthened the hand of established booksellers when it came to negotiations over prices and conditions. Second, as already mentioned, street vendors could distract the attention of the authorities, censors and the police away from illegal practices initiated by established publishers and booksellers. The regular booksellers frequently indicted the pedlars as the main offenders. The third motive stems from the growing needs of trade communication. Both illicit and legitimate authors and booksellers were keen to be able to inform local vendors and their potential customers about a new product. Rumours, gossip, police actions, trials and the

⁹¹ Salman, *Populair drukwerk in de Gouden Eeuw*, pp. 306–312; B. van Selm, “Almanacken, lietjes, en somwijl wat wonder, wat nieuws”. Volkslectuur in de Noordelijke Nederlanden (1480–1800): een onbekende grootheid, *Leidschrift* 5, no. 3 (1989), p. 55.

⁹² R. Beentjes, “En de man hiet Jan van Gyzen”: Een verslag van twaalf jaar lief en leed in Jan van Gysens Weekelyksche Amsterdamsche Merkuuren (1710–1722), *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman* 17 (1994), pp. 3, 7.

⁹³ See the preface in *De werken van Jan van Gysen; bestaande in desselfs Ernstige en Boertige heldendichten, &c. Derde deel*, Amsterdam, Jacobus van Egmont, 1711 (UB Utrecht Ned. Oct 184: 3: 6).

protestations of the guilds that arose from the irregular position of street vendors functioned as an unorthodox form of publicity.

But what of the image of pedlars in the nineteenth century, when the economic importance of the Dutch pedlars is thought to have declined?⁹⁴ Negative commentary continued.⁹⁵ In 1835 booksellers expressed their annoyance in the trade journal *Nieuwsblad voor den boekhandel* about a French travelling bookseller called Felip Andre Canongette, who sold his books from local inns. Although his activities were undoubtedly very annoying to the shop owners, they were not illegal. In 1839 and 1840 Canongette received formal patents in the cities of Leiden and Utrecht. A patent was both a local annual tax for performing economic activities and a legal permit.⁹⁶

Thus, while booksellers still tried to protect their business, something important had changed: the itinerant enemy was no longer simply an outsider, but now part of the establishment. For this reason, in 1849 some Utrecht booksellers complained that the book trade was losing its dignity: many book pedlars ['boekenslijters'] were now considered 'real' book traders.⁹⁷ Some regular booksellers recognised the need for the itinerant book trade, but only within certain limitations. In 1862 Frederik Muller, book dealer and antiquarian, stated that 'colporteurs' [street hawkers] had long held an important share in disseminating literature for 'the lower classes' and referred to barrows filled with almanacs, songs, histories, fairy tales and indecent books. These street sellers, Muller insisted, should not, however, interfere in the trade in high quality literature, where they could do serious harm. Books would drop in both price and value because hawkers would 'foist a host of books on people against their will'.⁹⁸

This institutionalisation and professionalisation of the itinerant book trade started with the Napoleonic surveys in the years 1810–13, when

⁹⁴ Consider, for example, the increasing professionalisation of the book trade, a proliferation in the division of labour, improved modes of transport, the arrival of the railways, the growth of the number of bookshops and of sedentary second-hand bookshops and the increasing number of circulating libraries and reading circles; see *Bibliopolis*, pp. 138–139, 184–189, 191.

⁹⁵ Kuitert, 'Grote boeken voor de kleine man', pp. 95–96.

⁹⁶ *Nieuwsblad voor den boekhandel* 2 (1835), no. 29, 30. In Leiden the value of his wares was 850 guilders. GA Leiden, inv. no. 2066, patent registers 1839–40; Utrechts archief, SAIV, *Registers van patentschuldige kramers* etc, inv. no. 6151 (1839–40), no. 589.

⁹⁷ *Nieuwsblad voor den boekhandel* 17 (1850), no. 1, p. 6.

⁹⁸ F. Muller, 'Volksbibliotheeken. Volksletterkunde. Colportage,' in *Practische volks-almanak* (1862), pp. 155–172. I am grateful to José de Kruif, who alerted me to this source.

the Netherlands were annexed by the French Empire. In chapter 3, that quantitative information will be analysed in detail. The final stage in the national process of professionalisation was the establishment of an official trade journal, *De Kolporteur*, in 1868.⁹⁹

PEDLARS IN THE WORLD OF THE IMAGINATION: TEXTUAL REPRESENTATIONS

Authors and artists in England and the Netherlands produced an extensive and heterogeneous group of images of pedlars in the period covered by this study. In many genres of art and literature we come across representations of the pedlar, negative, positive and neutral. The challenge here is to uncover the additional information these artistic sources reveal, the motives behind such portrayals of pedlars, and the connections between these artistic sources and the administrative and repressive sources discussed earlier.

Dutch literary sources for the itinerant book trade have been explored more extensively than their English counterparts, and the following discussion is therefore dedicated primarily to Dutch material. The categorisations and analysis it contains, however, are undoubtedly also relevant for English material and will be useful for future research.

Dutch Literary Representations

This survey is based on a wide range of farces, poems, songs and periodicals. Textual representations of pedlars within this material can be subdivided into two groups. The first group expresses negative and moralistic opinions about peddling and comprises literature that is intentionally entertaining. A more neutral and sometimes positive image of peddling is portrayed by the second group of texts, whose function is often tied to commerce and publicity.

Entertainment and Morality

In seventeenth-century comic theatre in particular, the character of the pedlar or ballad singer was associated with sin and bad behaviour. These figures are rogues, thieves, cheats and symbols of bad taste who might

⁹⁹ This journal appeared until 1889. L. Kuitert, 'De Kolporteur (1868–1889). Vakblad voor een gefrustreerde beroepsgroep', *Geboekt in jaargangen. Anderhalve eeuw boekentijdschriften in Nederland*, special issue: *Boekenwereld* 10 (1994), pp. 36–40.

appear as sellers of songs, jest books and almanacs. *Een cluchte van eenen cramer hebbende te coop veelderley drollighe liedekens* (The farce of a pedlar with many funny songs) appeared in 1613, authored by G.H. Breughel, a publisher, writer and member of the 't Wit Lavendel chamber of rhetoric. In this farce the pedlar, representing the sinful rogue, offers songs about love, sex and drinking. A song called 'Ballade van allen tgheene datmen tot Amstelredam langs der straten roept, ende te coopen is' (Ballad of all the street cries of Amsterdam), also written by Breughel, refers to a 'cramer' [pedlar] who sells jest books and almanacs, which could be used for making notes or might be pinned up on the wall.¹⁰⁰

This moralistic attitude and negative depiction of hawkers and pedlars can also be found in the farce *Lichte Wigger* of G.C. van Santen, where the pedlar is considered a squanderer and a sponger (1617). Van Santen sees this pedlar as one of the many scoundrels who earn money with songs and almanacs.¹⁰¹ In a 1687 farce by J. Sammers, *Klucht van den moetwilligen boots-gesel* (Farce of an evil sailor), a pedlar cries out in the street: 'hier heb ick Almenacke met hoope,/ Nieuwe lietjens voor vrouwe, voor vrysters, wie wil wat koope?' [here are almanacs with hope, new songs for women, spinsters, who wants to buy some?]. His intended clients see him, however, as a thief and hooligan. And to make matters worse, he is married to a prostitute.¹⁰² In the jest about *Claas Kloet* written by Nicolaes Biestkens in 1619, the poor pedlar is named 'Vroeck bedurven' [spoilt young] and portrayed as a cunning thief who tricks and robs the vulnerable such as old women and widows.¹⁰³ The trope of the deceitfulness of pedlars was also exploited in sensitive religious matters. An anti-Catholic pamphlet of 1617, *Favlse position ofte Valschen regel van practijcke der Paepscher Kramers ende Koop-lieden* [The false position or false rules of the Popish pedlars and merchants] criticised Jesuits in Zeeland for trying to (re)convert people to Catholicism. Like a pedlar, the Jesuits try to 'hawk' their reprehensible ideas among the people. Pedlar and Jesuits use the

¹⁰⁰ J.A. van Leuvensteijn, *De kluchten van Gerrit Hendericxsz van Breughel*, Amsterdam 1985, 1: 13, 2: 257–259, 290–293.

¹⁰¹ G.C. van Santen, *Lichte Wigger en Snappende Siitgen. Zeventiende-eeuwse gesprekken in Delfts dialect*, Assen 1959, p. 271, vs. 1765. On pedlars in rhetoric plays, W.M.H. Hummelen, *Repertorium van het rederijkersdrama 1500–ca. 1620*, Assen 1968, pp. 99, 190, 214–215, 235, 241. See also H. Pleij, 'De betekenis van de beginnende drukpers voor de ontwikkeling van de Nederlandse literatuur in Noord en Zuid', *Spektator* 21 (1992), p. 250, and Van Selm, "Almanacken, lietjes, en somwijl wat wonder, wat nieuws", pp. 52, 66.

¹⁰² J. Sammers, *Klucht van den moetwilligen boots-gesel. Vertoont op de Amsterdamsche schouwburg*, Amsterdam 1687 (UB Amsterdam 344 G 9). Sammers 1687, f. A4r/v.

¹⁰³ Nicolaes Biestkens, *Het eerste(-derde) deel van Claas Kloet*, Amsterdam, J. Marcusz., 1619 (UB Amsterdam 688 A 76).

same appalling tactics as they make recourse to roguishness, lying and deceit, and they both choose common people as their victims.¹⁰⁴

After 1670 the distinction between, on one hand, literature that followed the rules of classicism and, on the other hand, literary entertainment that had no poetical pretensions grew in the Dutch Republic. Classicist platforms and organisations like the Amsterdamse schouwburg [Amsterdam Theatre] and the literary society *Nil Volentibus Arduum* became motors of a civilising process in the literary field. By the end of the seventeenth century, fewer farces and comedies were being performed at the Amsterdam Theatre because such works were considered morally corrupting.¹⁰⁵ At the same time, however, the broader entertainment market began to expand, with the songbook – intended in particular for those of a marriageable age – and the novel important exponents of this trend.¹⁰⁶ Farces, comedies and prose writings contain many references to the lower classes, including pedlars and ballad singers, that are similar to those found in songs.¹⁰⁷ Morality is not absent from this growth in entertainment. In comic theatre, we encounter, for instance, street boys, who, undisciplined socially by marriage, had to learn the difference between good and evil.¹⁰⁸

In the eighteenth century, taste, or rather its absence, was still associated with hawking and peddling. The Dutch writer Lukas Rotgans referred to the ballad singer and his song in his *Boerekermis* of 1715, in which he expressed a classicist view about ‘literature’ for the people.¹⁰⁹ Rotgans parodies not only Jan Vos but also the Amsterdam ballad singer and his popular songs in general. In this poem there is an ‘ugly’ ballad singer at a waffle stall, his face bandaged and disfigured by abscesses; he also seems to suffer from venereal disease. When the narrator asks if he has news, the

¹⁰⁴ *Favlse position ofte ofte Valschen regel van practijcke der Paepscher Kramers ende Koop-lieden, met wat schalckheyt, bedrogh en de grove loghenen sy haren handel drijven*, Middelburg, David Marien and Richard Schilders, 1617, pp. 5–7 (UB Amsterdam 1130 C 1).

¹⁰⁵ R. van Stipriaan, *Leugens en Vermaak. Boccaccio's novellen in de kluchtcultuur van de Nederlandse renaissance*, Amsterdam 1996, pp. 46–47.

¹⁰⁶ K. Porteman and M.B. Smits-Veldt, *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1560–1700*, Amsterdam 2009, pp. 799–801.

¹⁰⁷ See for these types of source, Salman, *Populair drukwerk in de Gouden Eeuw*, pp. 35–36; Kemper, ‘Colportage in de Republiek’; Verkruijsse, *De marskramer* (1993); Kossmann, *De Nederlandsche straatzanger*, esp. chaps. 1 and 10.

¹⁰⁸ M.-T. Leuker, ‘De last van ‘t huys, de wil des mans [...]’ *Frauenbilder und Ehekonzepte im niederländischen Lustspiel des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Münster 1992, p. 3.

¹⁰⁹ *Boerekermis* is published in the anthology *Lukas Rotgans Poëzy van verscheide mengelstoffen*, Leeuwarden 1715 (vol. 2, 1735). I have used the modern edition: Lukas Rotgans, *Boerekermis*, ed. L. Strengholt, Gorinchem 1968.

ballad singer answers by listing a number of songs and even starts to sing to give a flavour of their content. The songs address social themes such as a merchant's daughter who has aristocratic ambitions or a young man who after a two-year stay in Paris could no longer speak Dutch. He also offers stories about good and bad days, adventures and a tournament.

Itinerants were also associated with vices such as vanity and casualness. In *Des Wereldts proef-steen* (1639) by Antonius à Burgundia and translated by Petrus Geschier, a seller of the game *koningsbrieven* [King's letters or Twelfth Night prints] is associated with vanity [*'Ydelheydt'*].¹¹⁰ Here the concept of the king is used to emphasise that life is short and unpredictable, no matter what one's position in society. The street seller, who is depicted alongside the verse, is held responsible for his vain product, which contains a list of characters who can be used to mimic a royal household. The pedlar presents *koningsbrieven* as an enjoyable and inexpensive game, but the writer warns the reader that it provides only short and empty pleasure. Today you may be a king, but tomorrow you may be homeless.¹¹¹

Simultaneously, milder forms of mockery also occurred in comic plays, songs and pamphlets, referring, for instance, to the (melo)dramatic emotional, amorous and sensational character of the ballads sold. Jan Pook wrote the play *De Hollebollige lachende dokter of den bereysden Hans Zing-zang* [The funny doctor or the widely travelled Hans Zing-Zang] (1715), in which a ballad singer describes his adventures and sums up the songs he sang along the way.¹¹² There are no traces of satire in this text. In Jan Harmensz Krul's *Rosemont en Raniclis* (1632), the ballad singer – a proxy for Cupid – is a love broker.¹¹³ A certain 'Jurrien the ballad singer' in the farce *De bedroge girigheyd* by Johan van Paffenrode (1661) sells a song about a woman who drowns her own daughter. The ballad singer adds that everyone who reads this account will be moved, even if 'you have a heart of stone', even if 'you are an executioner'. A friend of the ballad

¹¹⁰ These 'king's letters' belonged to a popular game that was played to celebrate the coming of the three kings at Epiphany.

¹¹¹ Originally published in Latin by J. Cnobbaert in Antwerp in 1639. The work was republished in Dutch by Wed. J. Cnobbaert in Antwerp in 1643. See also a subsequent condensed emblematic version of the text published by Jan Galle of Antwerp ca. 1665. Copies of all editions are in the City Library of Antwerp, Belgium.

¹¹² Jan Pook, *De Hollebollige lachende dokter of den bereysden Hans Zing-zang*, Amsterdam, s.n., 1715 (UB Utrecht Moltzer 7 F 22: 2). See also Jan van Elsland's *Het loterij-leeven*, Haarlem, I. vander Vinne, 1710 (KB Den Haag 30 G 8). N. Veldhorst, *Zingend door het leven. Het Nederlandse liedboek in de Gouden Eeuw*, Amsterdam 2009, p. 59.

¹¹³ Veldhorst, *Zingend door het leven*, p. 59.

singer saw farmers at a fair ‘crying snot and slobber’ after hearing this song.¹¹⁴ Scandalous news is revealed in a 1658 libel entitled ‘*Schuyt-praatje [...] over den godtloosen en onwettigen handel van een predikant van Delft*’), which tells of the shameful affair of the minister Arnoldus Bornius with the seventeen-year-old daughter of the burgomaster of Delft Geraldo Welhoeckt.¹¹⁵

Pedlars and ballad singers are not just purveyors of entertainment and gossip, for they are praised, as well as feared, for their selling of more serious news. In ‘*De Gramschap. Speel-gewys verthoont op de kamer van de violier den 18. October Anno 1645 binnen Antwerpen*’, a pedlar sells news and songs; he is, however, distrusted as a bringer of news and also accused of adultery by his wife.¹¹⁶ The strong link between itinerant booksellers and news can be seen in a printed defence of Dutch poetry, and especially in the work of the Dutch poet Joost van den Vondel, in a poem of 1717. The poets pointed at ‘false news hawkers from Amsterdam and The Hague’ and feared scandalmongers and foreign, especially French, influences.¹¹⁷

In illustrating that any affair could become a media event, contemporary commentators and journalists consciously used the stereotype of the noisy street trader. The appearance of all sorts of pamphlets and political prints with satirical titles such as ‘*Quincampoix, Bombario, of Roskam voor de dolle actionisten*’ [Quincompoix, Bombario, or Roskam for the crazy stockbrokers] gave rise to remarks in the *Europische Mercurius* of 1720 such as, ‘There is no shortage of ballad singers and street criers, who daily cry out new libels and weird titles’.¹¹⁸ These pamphlets and prints refer to the South Sea Bubble of 1719–1720, the first international crisis of financial

¹¹⁴ Johan van Paffenrode, *De bedroge girigheyd*, Gorinchem, Paulus Vinck, 1661 (UB Utrecht, MAG: Rariora oct 169 dl 4). Electronic version: <http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/Dutch/Ceneton/PaffenrodeUlrich1661.html>.

¹¹⁵ *Schuyt-praatje [...] over den godtloosen en onwettigen handel van een predikant van Delft* [...] Delft, s.n., 1658, p. 9. (UB Gent Tiele 4647). I am very grateful to Bauke Hekman for sending me this reference.

¹¹⁶ Part of G. Ogier, *De seven hooft-sonden, speels-ghewijs vermakeelyck ende leersaem voor-gesteld*, Antwerp, Henderick van Dunwalt, 1682 (UB Antwerpen, RG 2095 C2). Later also published in Amsterdam.

¹¹⁷ *Vervolg van de Nederduitse Keurdigten. By een verzameld door de Liefhebbers der Oude Hollandse Vryheit*, Rotterdam, Pieter van der Goes, 1717, p. 94 (UB Leiden 1204 G 36–39): ‘Haegsche en Amsterdamsche Valsche Nieuwskramers’.

¹¹⁸ ‘Aan liedtzangers en straatschreeuwers was mede geen gebrek, die daaglyks met nieuwe deunen en uytgevonde straatlibel of vreemdbedagten titel, mede een veeg uyt de pan te krygen, hier schreeuwen ‘er een dat het door de ooren gilde: *De Roskam der Actionisten*; op een andere plaats weêr een ander: *de Actionisten in de Rouw, de Bankeroetiërs Wagen na Vianen, Loop an, Loop an*, en diergelyke staaltjes meer’, *Europische Mercurius* (1720), p. 203.

capitalism based on speculation. One of the key figures of this crisis was John Law, Scottish economist and Controller General of Finances under King Louis XV of France, who proposed reducing the French financial debt by replacing it with shares in economic ventures such as colonial trade companies. When other countries followed suit, a huge speculative trade in shares emerged. Within a few years, the market collapsed and Europe experienced bankruptcies and a major financial crisis.¹¹⁹ Both during and after this event many satirical pamphlets, plays, prints and songs were published. There are strong indications that much of this material was sold by street vendors. Gysbert Tysens, to whom the above-mentioned *Quincompoix* is attributed, complains in the preface of this work that his poems are 'murdered' by ballad singers. He condemns the self-seeking publisher who is behind the production of this type of material, probably with Jacobus (I) van Egmont in mind, because in Tysens' work *De bedriegelyke Actionist* he explicitly points to the illegal practices of Van Egmont, who is described as 'the most significant printer of the street sellers'.¹²⁰

Pedlars as newsbrokers had an ambivalent relationship with early modern coffeehouses, which were so closely associated with public opinion and (oral) news. On the one hand, pedlars were vital for the delivery of newspapers, mercuries and other periodicals. In *De gedebaucheerde en betoverde koffy- en thee-wereld*, [...] [The alluring and enchanted coffee and tea world], printed by an infamous publisher, Timotheus ten Hoorn, in Amsterdam in 1701, the author explains that visiting a coffeehouse is a useful pastime, for besides drinking coffee and smoking a pipe, visitors can read the newspaper and discuss the latest news. On the other hand, young people were warned to be wary of pedlars with tasteless goods such as a snuffbox with erotic pictures on the inside.¹²¹

The most dangerous, threatening and influential function of itinerant print sellers was their contribution to political debate by spreading pamphlets and newspapers. The satirist Pieter Elzevier (1643–1696) was highly

¹¹⁹ F. de Bruyn, 'Het groote tafereel der dwaasheid and the speculative bubble of 1720. A bibliographical enigma and an economic force', *Eighteenth-century life* 24 (2000), pp. 67–68.

¹²⁰ B. van der Zijde, 'Apollo's marsdrager. Geschiedenis van een populaire uitgave aan het begin van de achttiende eeuw', M.A. thesis, University of Amsterdam 1996, pp. 33–34.

¹²¹ *De gedebaucheerde en betoverde koffy- en thee-wereld behelzende een meenigte van aardige voorvallen*, [...] *T' Amsterdam, by Timotheus ten Hoorn, Boekverkoper in de Nes, 1701*, [...], pp. 473–457 (KB Den Haag 32 A 18). I would like to thank Inger Leemans for providing me with this reference. The activities of Timotheus ten Hoorn as an 'infamous' publisher are described below, see p. 38.

aware of the impact of this street literature. In a satirical piece from 1667, 'De Spiegel der nieuwgierige en belacchelijcke courantiers' [Mirror of curious and ridiculous newspapermen], Elzevier complained about the role of these itinerants in spreading party-political comments and especially writings against the regents. At this time French pressure was increasing and there was growing demand for the return of the stadholder. Elzevier evidently felt that pedlars could swing public opinion.¹²²

Among the fictional descriptions of the book business of the seventeenth century, a strong distinction is made between honourable trade and ill-reputed trade. Such was the case in a satirical pamphlet from 1690 that denounced illegal reprints of Descartes' *Principia Philosophia* (1644).¹²³ In this allegoric text entitled *Relaas van de beroertens op Parnassus*, the famous but long-dead Antwerp printer Christopher Plantin explains where the printing of Descartes' work has gone wrong. The Dutch translation of this work had fallen into the hands of his fellow booksellers Timotheus and Nicolaes ten Hoorn in Amsterdam. Until that point, according to Plantin, the guild of booksellers had turned a blind eye to their printing and selling of tacky books, which were sold on bridges and locks, but the printing of Descartes' work of godly scholarship should be left to the major publishers. The God Apollo himself was furious about this abuse and warned the Ten Hoorns that well-known street vendors would never again sell their books.¹²⁴ Commentators thus distinguished between large and respected bookshops and publishing houses and networks of smaller-scale and disdained printers and street vendors. The latter were tolerated as long as they stuck to their objectionable books; they were not allowed into the domain of exclusive and scholarly works. The street trade was thus used to criticise unwelcome intruders in the literary field.

Sometimes one specific pedlar is the target of a number of satirical writings, as was the case for the Rotterdam pedlar Francois van der Linden (1649?–1743), who was the subject of an extensive biographical account. Van der Linden was active in the first half of the eighteenth century, his

¹²² *Den Lacchenden Apoll uythbarstende in drollige rymen*. [...], Amsterdam, Baltes Boekholt, 1667 (UB Utrecht RARIORA Z Oct 2776).

¹²³ *Relaas van de beroertens op Parnassus. Ontstaan over het drukken van de beginnelsen der wijsbegeerte van den heer Renatus Descartes*, Amsterdam, T. Pieterz, 1690 (UB Leiden MNL Port. 54), fol. A4. The *Principia Philosophia* was translated as *Beginnelsen der Eerste Wijsbegeerte*. I would like to thank Inger Leemans, who brought this pamphlet to my attention. See also Inger Leemans, *Het woord is aan de onderkant. Radicale ideeën in Nederlandse pornografische romans 1670–1700*, Nijmegen 2002, p. 175.

¹²⁴ This probably refers to Gijsbert de Groot, Johannes (I) Stichter and Gerrit Ewouts and/or his widow.

memory preserved by the satirical pamphlets devoted to him.¹²⁵ His is a special case not only because of his life story and these satirical pamphlets, but also because we have a full-length watercolour portrait of him (see image 1.1). This depiction shows a miserly faced man under an immense hat and a thick mop of hair. His slightly bent body, packed in an enormous coat, is much too big in comparison to his tiny head. The drawing and the caption record that this is 'Frans the spectacle seller', who sells combs, spectacles and almanacs. The pamphlets contain small verses and epitaphs that suggest that Van der Linden had recently died. The verses are signed with the initials of the authors, but it has not been possible to identify them. What is clear, however, is that Van der Linden is portrayed very unfavourably, namely, as a lonely and miserly person, an assessment confirmed by the caption:

Here lies Francois van der Linden
He died without any friends
Now the worms will devour his body

Paradoxical, however, Van der Linden the pedlar had become a very rich man, at least on paper, for he accumulated a fortune of almost 26,000 guilders in bonds, although his investments were not secure and soon after his death in 1743, it became clear that his bonds were worthless. His wealth had disappeared like snow in the summer, but his critics ridiculed him not for the loss of his funds, but because he had hoarded his alleged capital.

The second, enlarged edition of the pamphlets on Van der Linden includes a short biography, also written by satirists and therefore of questionable reliability. It records that the pedlar was born in the Flemish town of Bruges. As a young man he ignored the advice of his parents, and foolishly, according to his parents, favoured a career in trade instead of training as a priest. He wandered around Brabant with his pedlar's wares and fooled his customers. When he had made too many enemies, he ran away from Brabant and ended up in Rotterdam. He married a wealthy woman and after her death invested their money by loaning it at usurious interest rates. Although he did not stop working, he moved to a home for old men. He died having reached the ripe old age of ninety-four. Van der

¹²⁵ Three slightly different editions are known: *Tombe en grafchriften voor Francois van der Linden, vermaerde kam en brilkramer overleden te Rotterdam* [Rotterdam?, ca. 1742] (KB Den Haag, Knuttel 17351); *Tombe en grafchriften voor Francois van der Linden, Vermaerd Kam- en Brilkramer; overleden te Rotterdam. Tweede en vermeerde druk*, [ca. 1742] (KB Den Haag, Knuttel 17532); *Tombe en grafchriften, voor Francois van der Linden, vermaerde kam- en brilkramer; overleden te Rotterdam. Tweede en vermeerde druk. Met een korte levensbeschrijving*, [Rotterdam?, ca. 1742] (KB Den Haag, Knuttel 17352a).



Fig. 1.1. Watercolour portrait of the Dutch pedlar Francois van der Linden, added to a satirical pamphlet about Van der Linden's life; the drawing is dated 4 April 1742. The Hague, National Library: Pfl 17351.

Linden is portrayed as a typical pedlar who sold a combination of consumer goods such as glasses, combs and pencils and cultural wares such as almanacs.¹²⁶

If we look beyond its negative gloss, we find that this biography largely concurs with the archival records, although Van der Linden died in 1743, one year after the shameless parody was published. He was a wealthy man on paper. His capital consisted of bonds with a nominal value of 25,850 guilders.¹²⁷ In addition to these bonds, he also owned a tomb in the St. Laurentius church in Rotterdam (worth 30 guilders) and a letter of credit (worth 300 guilders). He had some paltry pieces of furniture that included an old cupboard, a reading desk, three wooden boxes, eight chairs and one mirror and also some old clothes to peddle.¹²⁸

Van der Linden's will from 1731 contributed significantly to the creation of his dubious image.¹²⁹ That he considered himself a rich man was reflected in his plans for his funeral and his legacies. His burial was to be of the grandest type, with eight coaches, bier, candles and music. Bells were to be tolled for fourteen days after his funeral and each year on the anniversary of his funeral a mass was to be held in his memory. The tomb in the St. Laurentius church was reserved for twenty-five years. His legacy was not merely his own spiritual welfare, but also support for the destitute and the church, for he planned for the charitable distribution of bread to the poor and treats to their children after his death. In addition, he bequeathed 600 guilders to the Steigers Church for a pulpit. The rest of the money was left for the poor.¹³⁰

The pamphlets indicate that their authors believed Van der Linden's wishes arrogant, his profession disreputable, his lifestyle questionable and his origins lowly. It is likely that Francois Waarts, notary in 1731, leaked information about Van der Linden's will to this group of writers and acquaintances. It is also likely that the pamphleteers felt there would be an audience for this apparently scandalous event because Van der Linden, a pedlar, had acted in a way that was not in keeping with his social class.

¹²⁶ See Salman, "Vreemde loopers en kramers", pp. 85–96.

¹²⁷ This sum, 25,850 guilders, would have had the same purchasing power as ca. 234,000 euros in 2013.

¹²⁸ C.W. van Voorst van Beest, *De katholieke armenzorg te Rotterdam in de 17e en 18e eeuw*, The Hague 1955, p. 93.

¹²⁹ GA Rotterdam, NA, inv. no. 1836, fol. 290, akte 96, dd. 28-02-1731.

¹³⁰ Van Voorst van Beest, *De katholieke armenzorg*, p. 93.

Entertainment and Commerce

In many other literary sources, pedlars and ballad sellers are not associated with morality or bad behaviour but function merely as a source of information or means of advertising in the service of the publishing business. The aforementioned hack writer Jan van Gysen is a detailed source on street sellers and hawkers and their role in the distribution of news. Van Gysen created many comical works, including plays, periodicals, dialogues, songbooks and jest books.¹³¹ He is best known as the originator of the *Amsterdamsche Mercurius*, but he also produced satirical periodicals such as *Jan van Gyzens Harlequin met de Rarekiek* [Jan van Gysen's harlequin with the peep show].¹³² In keeping with government requirements, Van Gysen avoided the subject of domestic politics in his new media. He refers to domestic affairs only incidentally. For instance in a *Harlequin* of 1720 that deals with the economic bubble, the Walloon character tries to convince farmer Jaap that he should buy shares ['acties'], but Jaap refuses, fearing he will lose his money and also aware that this stock trade is not allowed in Amsterdam.¹³³ In the *Amsterdamsche Mercurius* Van Gysen stressed the active role of the pedlars who wanted him to produce his periodicals, and he also made clear that he was aware of the important network of pedlars on which Van Egmont relied.¹³⁴ In *Samenspraak gehouden in de and're waereld*, Van Gysen refers to the important part played by Amsterdam hawkers in selling his plays *De Varke markt* and *De Osse markt* and therefore in their success.¹³⁵ The socially engaged Van Gysen also stressed the role of women as hawkers on the

¹³¹ For instance: Jan van Gysen, *De vermaakelyke Haarlemmer Hout. Zynde beplant met alderhande snakeryen*, Amsterdam, Jacobus (I) van Egmont, 1715 (UB Utrecht, Ned. oct. 184, vol. 3, no. 6).

¹³² *Jan van Gyzens Harlequin met de Rarekiek*, Amsterdam, Jacobus (I) van Egmont, ca. 1714–1717 (UB Amsterdam OTM O 86 9).

¹³³ *Jan van Gyzens Disperaete Harlequin, Over het verliezen van zyn geld, en goed door de Acties [...]*, Amsterdam, Jacobus (I) van Egmont, 1720 (KB Den Haag 556 J 4).

¹³⁴ J. Salman, 'Het nieuws op straat. Pamfletten en couranten in het vroegmoderne Distributienetwerk', in M. Meijer Drees, J. de Kruif and J. Salman (eds), *Het lange leven van het pamflet. Boekhistorische, iconografische, literaire en politieke aspecten van pamfletten, 1600–1900*, Hilversum 2006, pp. 56–67; Beentjes, "En de man hiet Jan van Gyzen".

¹³⁵ Van Gysen says: 'Die na dat ikze by ter Druk-Pers had gaan geven/ Geroepen wierd door veel Loopers langs de straat,/ Zy gingen van de hand als haagel, en als zaat', in J. Rosseau, *Samenspraak gehouden in de and're waereld, tusschen Jan van Gyzen, en eenige and're versturve poeëten*, Amsterdam, Jacobus (I) van Egmont, 1722, p. 9 (KB Den Haag 1350 G 51). Jan van Gysen, *De Varke Markt, Klugtspel door Jan van Gyzen. Den Tweede Druk, van nieuws overzien, en van verscheide Druk Fouten verbeterd, door den Autheur*, Amsterdam, Jacobus (I) van Egmont, 1712 (UB Amsterdam OK 63 9928); Jan van Gyzen, *De osse markt, of 't Vervolg van de varke markt, klugtspel*, Amsterdam, Jacobus (I) van Egmont, 1712 (UB Amsterdam OK 63 9928 [3]).

streets of Amsterdam.¹³⁶ He opposed defamatory writings such as Jan Hennegat's *Het leven van de Heedendaagsche Vrouwen* [Lives of contemporary women], in which women are accused of idleness, neglecting their family duties and even prostitution. Hennegat monitored the conversations of women who sold on the streets and accused them of babbling and cheating.¹³⁷ Van Gysen, by contrast, praised such women for trying to make a living, feeding their families by selling food and other goods on the streets.¹³⁸

Many popular songs, typified by 'The Rommelzoo van de Amsterdamse Razebols' [The lumber of the Amsterdam street criers], refer to the contents of the street seller's pack; this work mentions almanacs and Three Kings prints specifically.¹³⁹ 'Nieuw liedeken van den liedjens-zanger' [New ballad of the ballad singer] tells of the sorrows of a ballad singer who cannot sell his merchandise and is also unable to write new songs.¹⁴⁰ In the wedding song 'Cupidoos Kramery' [Cupid's pedlar's wares] Cupid offers his audience songs 'they have not read before' and books that are 'even stranger than you can imagine'.¹⁴¹

Sometimes the reference to street selling or itinerant trade appears only in the title of a songbook, as is the case with *D'Amsterdamse Kordewagen* [The Amsterdam wheelbarrow] of 1662, which contains an odd combination of religious songs and obscene love and wedding songs.¹⁴² There are no specific references to a pedlar either with or without a barrow, but in a song about the Amsterdam fair ['d'Amsterdamse Jaer-marckt'] a certain Abram de Vry offers books at his stall on the Nieuwmarkt.¹⁴³

¹³⁶ See his work *Jan van Gysens Lof der Vrouwen, of Wederlegging tegens het Leven van de Hedendaagsche Vrouwen*, Amsterdam, Jacobus (I) van Egmont, 1711 (UB Amsterdam OK 62-1402: 17).

¹³⁷ Jan Hennegat, *Het leven van de Heedendaagsche Vrouwen*, Amsterdam, Jacobus (I) van Egmont, 1711 (UB Amsterdam OK 62 1402).

¹³⁸ Van Gysen, *Jan van Gysens Lof der Vrouwen*.

¹³⁹ Several versions of this song can be found, one of which is in *De Olipodrigo bestaande in vrolijke gezangen, kusjes, rondeeltjes, levertjes, bruilofs- en mengel-rijmpjes*, Amsterdam, Tymon Houthaack, 1654. (KB Den Haag, 7 e 12); for other versions see also www.liederen-bank.nl.

¹⁴⁰ W.L. Braekman, *Hier heb ik weer wat nieuws in d'hand. Marktliedere, rolzangers en volkse poëzie van weleer*, Ghent 1990.

¹⁴¹ *Thürsis Minnewit. Bestaande in een verzameling van de aangenaamste Minne-Zangen en Voysen*, vol. 3, Amsterdam, Willem van Hekeren, 1713 (UB Amsterdam MUZ 122).

¹⁴² *D'Amsterdamse Kordewagen, opgevult met alderhande nieuw voyzen, aerdtige quinckslagen, en Bruylofs snaekerijtjes; door verscheide Liefhebbers samen gevoeght. [...]*, Amsterdam, Jacob Vinckel, 1662 (UB Amsterdam OK 78-254).

¹⁴³ This song was written by a certain A. de Haes. For more on this work see E. de Jongh, 'Erotica in vogelperspectief. De dubbelzinnigheid van een reeks zeventiende-eeuwse genrevoorstellingen', in E. de Jongh, *Kwesties van betekenis. Thema en motief in de Nederlandse schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw*, Leiden 1995, p. 48, n. 95.

The image of the street seller is sometimes employed to signal the diverting nature of a certain work or as a means of addressing the intended audience.¹⁴⁴ One example, simultaneously comical and commercial, is a 1708 farce entitled *De zingende kraamer of vermaakelyke Krispyn* [The singing pedlar or entertaining Krispyn], written by Jacobus Rosseau and published by Niklaas Dor in Amsterdam.¹⁴⁵ The pedlar Krispyn is the central character in this play, taking his wares from door to door and occasionally singing songs. The author provides an ironic take on the social position of the pedlar, but Krispyn himself emphasises that he is a respectable man with an honest profession, dealing in valuable goods. The text is riddled with references. Throughout the play, dozens of titles of popular songs and street ballads make up in effect a fictionalised catalogue of street literature. Krispyn informs the reader that a printed catalogue of his works is available at a 'bookstall on Katenburg'. He also tells the reader of his colleague Pieter de Vos, alias Kleyn Jan [Small John], a ballad seller who could be found on the Butter Market in Amsterdam on Mondays,¹⁴⁶ but Krispyn assures his audience that his songs are both longer and cheaper than those of Small John:

Want ik heb lietjes ook te koop, dat moetje weten,
Ja meer als die vend die *Pieter de Vos*, of *Kleyns Ian* werd geheeten
Dog ik geefze goet kooper; Schoon dat hy 'er mee langs Straad kruid,
Zo moetje hem altyde een oortje voor 't stuk geeven, en ik geef de kust en
keur voor een duyt,¹⁴⁷

Because I too, do you know, have got songs to sell
Yes, quite some more than that fellow called Pieter de Vos or Small John
Mine are cheaper, though he pushes his barrel as well,
I've got value for money, while he's having you on,

Although it is often impossible to determine whether such characters were purely fictional, evidence of the existence of certain street vendors

¹⁴⁴ Martin, 'De liedjeszanger als massamedium', p. 443. Martin maintains that especially in the eighteenth century, regular composers of street ballads would become increasingly common and that teachers and popular poets delivered their songs anonymously to singers and printers.

¹⁴⁵ The play was reprinted often. See, for example, an edition from 1786, KB Den Haag, 1124 F 94.

¹⁴⁶ Martin, 'De liedjeszanger als massamedium', pp. 424–425. For more on Pieter de Vos, see K. ter Laan, *Letterkundig woordenboek voor Noord en Zuid*, The Hague 1941.

¹⁴⁷ *De zingende Kraamer*, pp. 8–10. In Rosseau's comedy *De Booter-markt, Klugtspeel* [...] (The Butter market, Farce) Amsterdam, Jacobus (I) van Egmont, 1718, 'Kwantzelaar' (Spender), the 'Kraamer' (Pedlar) and 'Rotkeel' the 'Liedzanger' (Sore throat the Singer) play dubious parts. It is very likely that 'Rotkeel' refers to Pieter de Vos.

can be found in local archival sources. These records reveal that in Amsterdam, pedlars and street singers would sometimes sell their wares at the same spot in the city for decades. Apollonia Jacobs and Neeltje Claas, for example, by the end of the seventeenth century had occupied their position on the Sparendammer Bridge in Amsterdam consistently for twenty years, attracting a loyal audience.¹⁴⁸

Apollo's marsdrager [Apollo's pedlar], another example of the genre we might term pedlar literature, has a great deal in common with *De zingende kraamer of vermaakelyke Krispyn*.¹⁴⁹ It too belongs to the tradition of seventeenth-century books of farce and anecdotal collections.¹⁵⁰ The first of the three parts of this work, published in 1715, was an anthology of hundreds of epigrams, burlesques, and satires, most of them derived from older works by, among others, Pieter Elzevier, Jan Vos, Willem G. Focquenbroch and Arnout van Overbeke.¹⁵¹ Like his colleagues Rosseau and Van Gyzen, the compiler, Gysbert Tysens (1693–1732), was active in the genre of satire and entertainment. His printer-publishers, Andries van Damme and Hendrik Bosch, supplied the same market as Jacobus van Egmont. Tysens deemed Van Egmont part of a category of lesser publishers, characterising him as 'the biggest publisher among the street vendors' and accusing him of pirating his own songs and poems so that they could be heard 'tattered and knocked up', probably from the mouths of street singers, on the Dam, the Beurs, and throughout town.¹⁵² Not only did the street songs devalue his work, but Tysens also did not wish to be associated with a merchant of pasquils.¹⁵³

This commercial strategy does not alter the fact that in presenting his work, Tysens clearly opts for the model of easily accessible pedlar literature. He presents the content as amusing and whimsical and assures his readers that it is devoid of a spiritual, moral or divine message.¹⁵⁴ He does not exclude the possibility of a more refined audience but proposes

¹⁴⁸ Salman, "Vreemde loopers en kramers", pp. 81, 96.

¹⁴⁹ *Apollo's Marsdrager; veylende alderhande scherpzinnige en vermaakelyke snel, punt, schimp en mengeldichten* [...]. I have used the copy in the UB Leiden: 1174 G 10 (1728). I am grateful to have been able to draw on the master's thesis by B. van der Zijde for information on this work: Van der Zijde, 'Apollo's marsdrager'.

¹⁵⁰ Van der Zijde, 'Apollo's marsdrager', p. 54. For the tradition of jest books and anecdote collections, among others, see J. Koopmans and P. Verhuyck, *Een kijk op anekdotencollecties in de zeventiende eeuw. Jan Zoet: Het leven en bedrijf van Clément Marot*, Amsterdam and Atlanta 1991.

¹⁵¹ Van der Zijde, 'Apollo's marsdrager', pp. 7–8.

¹⁵² Ibid., pp. 33–34.

¹⁵³ *Apollo's marsdrager*, vol. 3, fol *5v to *6v.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. See also Van der Zijde, 'Apollo's marsdrager', p. 70.

special tactics in their case. In the first instance and for appearance's sake, they should reject epigrams and satires, especially when supplied by a pedlar. He advises pedlars to try to discuss the matter privately with their clients and raise the price – and thus the respectability – by a nickel. Tysens is convinced that they will accept such an offer gratefully.¹⁵⁵ The preface to *Apollo's marsdrager* informs readers as to what they should expect: 'The articles of my ware include quips and cranks and jokes made in jest. Like pellets they rain from the brain of the poet. It's a pot-pourri, a hotch-potch, a melting pot, that took a lot of sweat and Bordeaux to concoct. It contains all sorts of drolleries, from East and South and North and the West.'¹⁵⁶ Boccaccio is among the authors consulted by the compiler: 'I speak of Boccatus Magnus, who rhymes while pacing the room groaning, who's like an emperor, a golden beetle moaning.' The racy nature of the tales is recommended: 'You can hardly imagine something just so bawdy.'¹⁵⁷

Parts one and two of *Apollo's marsdrager*, which appeared separately in 1715 and 1717, were probably sold, just like so many of the pamphlets they resemble, not only in regular bookshops but also by street vendors.¹⁵⁸ The printers who are credited with printing this work, Andries van Damme and Hendrik Bosch, supposedly collaborated regularly with local street vendors.¹⁵⁹ The 'marsdrager' [pedlar] in the title is not solely a figure of speech, but also alludes to the production and distribution network to which this work belonged.

Comic theatre was also used to advertise printed and oral news by including pedlars. In *Joris, Piet en koddige Kryn met zyn marsje* [George, Peter and droll Kryn with his pack], a play published at the end of the eighteenth century, the pedlar Kryn airs his grievances about the lack of

¹⁵⁵ *Apollo's marsdrager*, vol. 3, fol *5v to *6v.

¹⁵⁶ In Dutch: 'De Koopmanschappen die ik in deze mynen Mars heb gelaan, Bestaan uyt Quikken en Quakken en Snaakse grollen. Die by buyen, als erreten, uyt der Poëten hersenen komen rollen. Het is een Olipodrigo, een Mengelmoesje, en een Compost, Die my wel een Bordeaux oxhooft, aan zweet, van verzamelen heeft gekost. 'T Zyn allerhande snakeryen van Oosten, Zuyen, Noorden, en Westen.' The title of the preface is 'Apollus marsdrager tot zyn luisterryke gemeente'. *Apollo's marsdrager*, vol. 1, fol. 2r–3v.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. In Dutch: 'Item, spreek ik van Boccatus Magnus, die, als hy rymt met zulk een gesnor, Door de kamer loopt brommen, als een groote Kyzer, of een gouwe tor.'

¹⁵⁸ The image on the title page had an important function as it informed potential buyers where the book could be acquired. In street sales, book hawkers searched for customers, rather than the other way around. See Salman, 'Het nieuws op straat' on sales strategies for these pamphlets.

¹⁵⁹ Van der Zijde, 'Apollo's marsdrager', pp. 81–82.

customers in a tavern he has visited.¹⁶⁰ He is so desperate that he would even offer his pack to the devil in order to become rich immediately. When his friends George and Peter enter the tavern, they address Kryn and out of curiosity ask him about his scabrous adventures. Kryn responds by telling them about his experiences at a fair.¹⁶¹

Part of the pedlars' strategy in commercialising street trade was to discredit their competitors, that is, fellow pedlars, writers and booksellers alike. This battle of the street was fought out publically in the works of Amsterdam hack writers Jacobus Rosseau and Jan van Gysen. Both Rosseau and Van Gysen were important players in the market for printed news. Van Gysen had gained a certain renown with his *Antwerpsche courant* and *Amsterdamsche Mercurius*. Both papers were coveted merchandise for street vendors and pedlars.¹⁶² Rosseau threatened Van Gysen's comfortable position in the market for popular political periodicals with his *Nieuwe Amsterdamsche postryder* of 1717.¹⁶³ Van Gysen considered this initiative a stab in the back by his former pupil Rosseau. In issue 30 of the *Amsterdamsche Mercurius* he condemned Rosseau for wanting to destroy his successful periodical. Rosseau reacted with surprise and criticised Van Gysen's excessive reaction.¹⁶⁴ It is telling that both men tried to draw in the hawkers who distributed these periodicals. They referred to 'my' or 'your' hawkers, as if these street sellers worked in the service of the author. Van Gysen denounced Rosseau's sounding out of his pedlars in order to fill his periodical with burlesque stories; he seems to suggest that the stories were simply stolen from him. Rosseau retorted that he wanted to consult the hawkers of the *Amsterdamsche Mercurius* and then noticed that they were just as angry as their master Van Gysen. The exchange suggests that hawkers played a significant role on the street and that it was important for such writers to have such hawkers on their side.

¹⁶⁰ Joris, *Piet en koddige Kryn met zyn marsje, in de borrel winkel van lobbige Griet. Gedrukt voor minnaars van't vermaak*, 17XX (end eighteenth, early nineteenth century, KB Den Haag 174 K 37: 7).

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² J. Salman, 'Schrijvers uit een andere wereld. De onderkant van de literaire markt in 1722', in J. Bos and E. Geleijns (eds), *Boekenwijsheid. Drie eeuwen kennis en cultuur in 30 bijzondere boeken*. Zutphen 2009, pp. 195–203.

¹⁶³ Beentjes, "'En de man hiet Jan van Gyzen'", 12. Beentjes suggests that Rosseau is also the author of the *Amsterdamsche marsdrager*, but gives no evidence in support of this theory. For Gyzen, see also Salman, 'Schrijvers uit een andere wereld'.

¹⁶⁴ J. van Gysen, *Jan van Gysens 30^{ste} Maandagse Amsterdamsche Mercurius; Verhaalende op een Boertige Wys, 't voornaamste Nieuws door heel Europa*, Amsterdam, Jacobus (I) van Egmont, 1718; J.R. [Jacobus Rosseau], *Antwoord van de Post-ryder, op Jan van Gyzens 30^{ste} Mercurius*, Amsterdam, Jacobus (I) van Egmont, 1718, (KB Den Haag, 556 J 4, vol. 7, after no. 30).

Having repudiated the opponent, the next step was to recommend one's own goods. In the *Zingende Kraamer*, Krispyn displays, in addition to mirrors, pencils and pipe boxes, about one hundred songs and a full stock of texts that are clownish and pornographic, but also philosophical. Here fiction overlaps reality because the titles he mentions were indeed available at the time. For example, the 'Historien' of 'Jan van Plug en Kaat de Brakkin' is a reference to *De vryagie van Jan de Plug en Caat de Brakkin*, an erotic farce from 1691–1692 with a Cartesian twist and references to the controversy around Balthasar Bekker.¹⁶⁵ The play also contains a reference to the first French pornographic novel, *L'Ecole des files* (1655), which Krispyn refers to as the 'Chinese almanac,' an allusion current in this period.¹⁶⁶ Rosseau also took the opportunity to advertise his own, more recent, writings, such as *Medea* from 1722 and *Helsche Kermis* from 1718.¹⁶⁷

Not only the pedlars and their wares, but also the places they met and traded are also, and sometimes exclusively, discussed in fictional accounts. An interesting case is the Butter Market [Botermarkt] near the Regulierbreestraat in Amsterdam, which was also known as the Devil's Corner [Duivelshoek].¹⁶⁸ From the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, a market with dairy products was held at this site every Monday. The Butter Market was also famous for its annual fair, held in September. This marketplace was the centre of a relatively poor area that consisted of small streets and alleys, inns, bars, small theatres, brothels and shops and had a high crime rate. Here the streets were filled with beggars, rogues and itinerants who tried to scrape together some money.¹⁶⁹ Bookstalls were present nearly every day, but on Mondays, during the large weekly butter market, the bookstalls had to be withdrawn to a small corner of the

¹⁶⁵ *De zingende Kraamer*, p. 71. Leemans, *Het woord is aan de onderkant*, pp. 189–191, 245–247. I would like to thank Inger Leemans for drawing my attention to this reference.

¹⁶⁶ 'En wat me daar zamen uytvoerde, dat behoef ik niet te snakken,/ Dat staat genoegzaam bekend in de Cineseche Almanakken' (And I shan't have to rant on what we did together / just consult the Chinese almanacs or books of the weather), *De zingende kraamer*, p. 32. See Leemans, *Het woord is aan de onderkant*, pp. 105–106, 153–154. The key for this allusion is in the hearing in 1768 by the Court of Holland of the pedlar Matthijs van Mordechay Cohen (National archive, RAZH, Hof van Holland, Criminele papieren [Criminal papers] inv. no. 5493.16, dd. 15-12-1768).

¹⁶⁷ *De zingende kraamer*, pp. 71–74.

¹⁶⁸ Today this location is called Rembrandtplein (Rembrandt Square).

¹⁶⁹ F. Egmont, *Op het verkeerde pad. Georganiseerde misdaad in de Noordelijke Nederlanden 1650–1850*, Amsterdam 1994, pp. 190–191; Frijhoff and Prak, *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam*, 2: 2, pp. 285–286; R. van Vliet, 'Klein Jan. De bard van de Botermarkt', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman* 30, no. 1 (2007), pp. 26–35.

square.¹⁷⁰ This lively centre of old and new books and prints proved highly attractive to ballad singers, news vendors and hawkers, who could refresh their stock and exchange the latest news, songs and pamphlets.¹⁷¹ According to a famous, if perhaps fictitious, story, the Russian tsar Peter liked the Butter Market so much that he wanted to take it with him to Russia. Supposedly he drank his brandy at the inn *De Olifant*, then owned by the illustrious street figure Tetjeroen.¹⁷²

Chapter three will elaborate on the function of the Butter Market as a centre of bookselling and the itinerant book trade; here I focus on the literary dimension. The questionable name 'Duivelshoek', or 'Devil's Corner,' was used by Jacob Campo Weyerman in the 1720s, but probably dates from earlier. It reflected the poor offerings of contemporary hack writers or, as they were called by Pieter Langendijk, *drekpoeëten* [muck poets]. Langendijk wrote an epitaph for his colleague Salomon van Rusting in which he refers ironically to the 'devilish' and 'farcical' pieces he once produced.¹⁷³ These 'muck poets' or 'cheap jacks' were poetasters who wrote about 'unchristian affairs', or better, about the underworld of society, on topics such as sex, sexual abuse, defecation and drunkenness. They were an increasing presence at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth.¹⁷⁴ Weyerman sees the Devil's Corner as a place where you would encounter pick pockets ['beurzesnyders'].¹⁷⁵ In another of his works, *Zeldzaame Leevens-byzonderheden*, he compares the Devil's Corner to Drury Lane in London.¹⁷⁶

The above-mentioned ballad seller Small John considered the Butter Market his home base and informed his readers in his songs that he sold his pieces there on Mondays during the weekly market.¹⁷⁷ In his 'Lof van

¹⁷⁰ J. van Maurik, 'Een wandeling op het Amstelveld', in J. van Maurik, *Papieren kinderen*, Utrecht and Antwerp 1985, p. 94; P. Arnoldussen, *Amsterdamse markten. Vroeger en nu*, Amsterdam 2000, pp. 15, 20; J. Vis, 'The book trade in the Poort', *Quaerendo* 37 (2007), pp. 117–119.

¹⁷¹ [Harmanus Koning], *De ongelukkige levensbeschrijving van een Amsterdammer [...]*, Amsterdam, Harmanus Koning, 1775. See a modern edition, edited by M.J. de Dekker, Amsterdam: Paris, 1965, pp. 54–55.

¹⁷² J. ter Gouw, *De volksvermaken*, Haarlem 1871, p. 466.

¹⁷³ Pieter Langendijk, 'Graftschrift op een drekpoëet', in G. Komrij (ed.), *De drekpoeëten. Uit het werk van Salomon van Rusting, Jan Goeree, Hermanus van den Burg en consorten*, Amsterdam 2002, p. 8.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 9–10.

¹⁷⁵ Jacob Campo Weyerman, *Den vrolyke tuchtheer* (1729), Amsterdam 1982, vol. 1, p. 68.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 289–290.

¹⁷⁷ C.C. van de Graft, 'Van de Botermarkt en een Amsterdamse straatzanger', in *Ons Amsterdam* 3 (1951), pp. 251. See the song 'De Lof van Klijn Jans Marsje' in *De vrolijke kramer met Klijn Jans plezierig en vermakelijk mars-dragend hondje [...]*, Amsterdam 1946, pp. 5–9.

de Bottermarkt' [Praise of the Butter Market], he reveals that he has songs and songbooks available, in short, just everything you could possibly wish for.¹⁷⁸ Jacobus Rosseau's farce *De Booter-markt* of 1717 has the Devil's Corner as its main subject. In addition to street sellers, the work tells of bookstalls: when Crediet [Credit] makes a tour of the market, he sighs on seeing a stall with all kinds of books, once again.¹⁷⁹

The nineteenth-century author Justus van Maurik was not enthusiastic in his description of the Butter Market, which in *Een wandeling op het Amstelveld* [A walk on the Amstelfield] he termed a place of loud bawling, shouting and dancing. He praised its re-formation into the decent Rembrandtplein, but regretted that all the bookstalls had disappeared. The street sellers now had to seek refuge at the Amstelveld.¹⁸⁰

English Textual Representations

In the limited number of English texts we studied, we found mainly moralising and depreciating references to pedlars. Shakespeare's character Autolycus, a 'rogue, ballad-seller, pedlar, con-man and thief' who appears in *The Winter's Tale* (1611), has, however, two sides. His name – literally 'the wolf (him)self' – is derived from classical mythology and refers to the duality of this character. He is the twin of Philamon in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Their mother Chione had been raped by both Apollo (the god of art and music) and Mercury (the god of thieves, but also of eloquence). Philamon became, in the spirit of Apollo, a musician, whereas Autolycus became, following in the footsteps of Mercury, the patron of thieves and liars. With Shakespeare the different qualities of Apollo and Mercury are united in one single character, the ballad singer and swindler Autolycus.¹⁸¹

In choosing Autolycus, Shakespeare opted for a character that could be recognised by a broad audience. In this sense his motives are both artistic and commercial. The pedlar selling the curious mixture of songs, pamphlets, booklets, perfume, jewellery, magnifying glasses, garters, flannels, needles and thread was a well-known figure on the streets of England. His customers ranged from the poor to the gentry. As a popular figure,

¹⁷⁸ This is based on a modern edition of this song with new woodcuts by Rigby Graham. Pieter de Vos, *De lof van de Bottermarkt. Gerymt door Pieter de Vos en met houtsnedes van Rigby Graham*, Banholt 1980 (UB Leiden 20674 E 3: 4). See also Kossmann, *De Nederlandse straatzanger*, pp. 12–13.

¹⁷⁹ *De Booter-markt*, fol. B5r.

¹⁸⁰ Van Maurik, 'Een wandeling op het Amstelveld', p. 94.

¹⁸¹ William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale* (1611), ed. Stephen Orgel, Oxford 1996, pp. 50–53.

Autolycus served to bridge the distance between the play and its audience, reducing its pastoral setting to proportions with which they could identify. He is important for the plot too, as he is in possession of essential information that will reconcile the divided parties. The moral message is twofold: the pedlar may be a swindler and should at all times be distrusted, but he is also uniquely capable of unmasking the wrongs of the powers-that-be because of his sly and disarming behaviour.¹⁸²

Where Shakespeare confronts us with the social and psychological ambiguity of the pedlar, other textual sources make evident the reputations of a variety of types of street seller. Contemporary dictionaries, for instance, reveal how well-educated people regarded sellers of print on the street. One source that documents London street sellers is Thomas Blount's *Glossographia* (1656), in which he makes an important distinction: 'Those people which go up and down the streets crying News-books, and selling them by retail are also called Hawkers. And those Women that sell them wholesale from the Press, are called Mercury Women.' As a rule, hawkers were distrusted more than mercuries. Blount states that hawkers 'are certain deceitful fellows, that go from place to place buying and selling Brass, Pewter, and other merchandize, that ought to be uttered in open Market. The Appellation seems to grow from their uncertain wandering, like those that with Hawks seek their Game where they can find it.'¹⁸³ John Hunton refers to 'mercuries' in his *Life and Errors* (1705), describing them as 'the honest (mercurial) women'.¹⁸⁴ Reputation seems to be a reflection of position in the distribution system. The mercury women were higher in rank because they bought newspapers from wholesalers and either distributed them to hawkers to sell on the streets or sold them in their own shops, the most common ways of distributing London newspapers in the early eighteenth century.¹⁸⁵

In the context of urban street life, selling, begging and scavenging often went hand in hand. Indeed, beggars often described themselves as ballad sellers in an attempt to create a less lowly self-image. Hawkers and ballad sellers were sometimes compared to shoeblacks and prostitutes. These stereotypes in art and literature 'fuelled the decisions of workhouse designers and justices sitting in petty sessions', according to Tim Hitchcock. This stereotype owed little to the reality of begging,

¹⁸² Spufford, *Small books*, pp. 116–117; Fontaine, *History of pedlars*, pp. 81–82.

¹⁸³ McKenzie, *The London book trade*, p. 25; Raven, *The business of books*, p. 85. Quoted from Thomas Blount, *Glossographia: or a dictionary* (London 1656).

¹⁸⁴ Quoted from Hunt, 'Hawkers, bawlers and mercuries', p. 47.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

however. Its origins can be found in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources such as English rogue literature and in Dutch and Spanish art in which the poor were given visual form. Such stereotypes of beggars and ballad sellers were reproduced in the eighteenth century by English writers such as Ned Ward, John Gay and Richard Steele.¹⁸⁶ Pedlar literature therefore adopted the same moralistic tone in England as in the Dutch Republic. In some instances, depictions of peddling in the English printed material are more neutral, for example, when peddling is recorded as a seasonal profession performed in spring and summer.

Hawking could also be associated with religion. The concept of the 'hawker of divinity' was not unusual in the seventeenth century. John Oldham (1653–1683) wrote about the 'Churches Hawkers in Divinity, Who 'stead of Lace and Ribbons, Doctrine cry'. In the nineteenth century Alfred Tennyson wrote in his poem *Maud*, 'This broad-brim'd hawker of holy things' (l.x.iii, 1855).¹⁸⁷ The religious connections of peddling were not necessarily positive. In England as in the Netherlands, itinerant trade was often negatively associated with Jewish pedlars. Robert Southey's very anti-Semitic view of Jewish pedlars contained in his *Letters from England* of 1807 includes reference to their trading in indecent prints.

You meet Jew pedlars every where, travelling with boxes of haberdashery at their backs, cuckoo clocks, sealing wax, quills, weather glasses, green spectacles, clumsy figures in plaister of Paris, which you see over the chimney of an alehouse parlour in the country, or miserable prints of the king and queen, the four seasons, the cardinal virtues, the last naval victory, the prodigal son, and such like subjects, even the nativity and the crucifixion; but when they meet with a likely chapman, they produce others of the most obscene and mischievous kind.¹⁸⁸

Betty Naggar has noted that Jewish pedlars and hawkers were often regarded as traders in stolen goods, cheaters and liars and considered noisy and quarrelsome, yet might also be praised for their independence, diligence, sobriety, hard work and devotion to religious life.¹⁸⁹ Their language, a mixture of Yiddish and English with influences from Russian and Polish, was often mocked. Some of them spoke hardly any English.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁶ Hitchcock, *Down and out*, pp. 52, 209–211, quote on p. 210.

¹⁸⁷ Both sources can be found in the lemma 'hawker' in *OED Online*, December 2012, Oxford University Press, www.oed.com (accessed February 21, 2013).

¹⁸⁸ Robert Southey, *Letters from England* (1807), ed. and with an introduction by Jack Simmons, London 1951, letter 63, pp. 396–397.

¹⁸⁹ B. Naggar, *Jewish pedlars and hawkers 1740–1940*, Camberley 1992, pp. 132–33, 135.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

A great deal of animosity between English costers and Jewish hawkers arose from competition alleged to be unfair.¹⁹¹

PEDLARS IN THE WORLD OF IMAGINATION: THE VISUAL PERSPECTIVE

Reconstruction of the itinerant distribution networks in England and the Dutch Republic (chapters 2 and 3) would not be possible without consideration of literary and visual representations. There is a long and rich tradition of portraying pedlars in diverse media such as prints, paintings, tiles and sculptures (see image 1.2). The resulting representations range from landscapes with a small traveller who is possibly a pedlar, to close-up studies of single figures. Some pedlars are part of allegorical scenes, while others represent a specific and known figure. This study has sought out images of pedlars selling printed wares that were executed in the Netherlands or England between 1600 and 1850. While such representations can be found in various media, they occur most frequently in paintings, prints and drawings. Paintings and drawings had a limited individual reach, but prints could be reproduced hundreds or even thousands of times.¹⁹² After an overview of the English and Netherlandish visual sources that have been consulted, this chapter will examine each group of images, considering what they reveal about the itinerant book trade in relation to the society in which the images were produced. That commercial motives and influences, not just artistic considerations, played their part in the representation of the itinerant book trade suggests a striking parallel with our textual sources.

In order to gather a significant pool of English images for analysis, two large electronic databanks were consulted, namely, that of the British Museum (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database.aspx) and 'Collage', from the Guildhall Library and Museum (collage.cityoflondon.gov.uk/collage). While neither collection can be termed fully and fairly representative of all the images created in England in the period under consideration, the number of objects entered in both systems at the time they were consulted – over 20,000 in Collage and over 1,260,000 in that of the British Museum (to which items are regularly added) – formed a sampling large enough for general trends to be

¹⁹¹ Ibid., p. 139.

¹⁹² K.L. Bowen, 'Sounding out a public's view of pedlars with texts. A consideration of images of pedlars in the Netherlands (1600–1850)', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis* 15 (2008), pp. 93–108.



Fig. 1.2. A ballad singer on a seventeenth-century Dutch tile. Otterlo, Nederlands Tegelmuseum: 9680.

identified. Notably, representations of ballad singers and sellers are predominant amongst all the images in which someone is shown selling a form of printed matter – from playbills, books and prints, to songs, ‘last dying speeches’ (broadsides, often illustrated, containing a description of a crime and the purported confession of the criminal), and newspapers – found in some 140 of the total 344 English images collected. This trend is in line with our results for Netherlandish images. The term ‘Netherlandish’ is used to underscore that works of art created in both the northern and southern Netherlands (the present-day Netherlands and Belgium) were considered, for there was a regular flow of artists, prints and paintings between these areas in this period and there are no significant regional differentiations in representations of comparable scenes. However,

because the bulk of the images we have uncovered were produced in the northern Netherlands and the corresponding archival-based social analysis is also drawn from northern Dutch cities, the analysis will have a Dutch focus.

The most important sources for this Netherlandish imagery are (1) the resources of the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (RKD), located in The Hague, (2) the Nederlands Openluchtmuseum (NOM), (3) the Hollstein series of Dutch and Flemish print catalogues,¹⁹³ (4) Maurits de Meyer's extensive catalogue, *De volks- en kinderprent in de Nederlanden van de 15de tot de 20e eeuw* (Antwerp: Standaard, 1962), the contents of which are particularly well represented by the Waller collection of 'centsprenten', or penny prints, at the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (RPK), (5) the Emmering Collection of images of the world of prints and books, also preserved and kindly made available at the RPK, and (6) various databases pertaining to children's literature available via the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague (KBH). Consultation of these and other collections resulted in an initial pool of nearly 290 images of people with printed-paper wares for sale – books, songs, newspapers, prints, lottery tickets, New Year's greetings, games, etc. – completed or published in the Netherlands between 1600 and 1850. As in the pool of English imagery, depictions of ballad singers dominate by far, with more than 110 images out of the approximately 290 considered. And yet despite this general similarity in type, how ballad sellers were portrayed reveals differences in attitude towards these street figures in each country and in the markets for representations of them. In particular, while the development of the English imagery is indicative of important shifts in the English art market, the great variety in the nature and construction of the Netherlandish imagery highlights an unanticipated range of opinions on and possible associations with this group of pedlars.

English Ballad Singers

Despite the subsequent popularity of this subject, ballad singers are notably absent from the early broadside renditions of the cries of London, from

¹⁹³ F.W. Hollstein, K.G. Boon and D. de Hoop Scheffer (eds), *Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700*, Amsterdam 1949–64, Amsterdam 1974–87, Roosendaal 1988–94, Rotterdam 1995–2004; Ouderkerk aan den IJssel 2005–present (72 vols); and various editors, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings, and woodcuts, 1450–1700*, Roosendaal 1993–94, Rotterdam 1995–2004; Ouderkerk aan den IJssel 2005–present (82 vols).

the seventeenth century.¹⁹⁴ Although a few isolated portrayals of such singers are known from this period, this subject did not really become part of the English visual vocabulary until Pierce Tempest's publication around 1688 of Marcellus Laroon II's extensive and successful suite of more than seventy large-scale etchings of the cries of London. Not only was Laroon's original image re-issued several times, but numerous imitations of it were produced in other media – primarily cheap prints and book illustrations – throughout the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century.

In the eighteenth century the English art market underwent a remarkable shift. Initially dominated by foreign artists and the import of foreign prints, with only select artists enjoying special patronage, by the end of the eighteenth century, the English art market boasted burgeoning sales of diverse paintings and prints by local English artists.¹⁹⁵ One indirect result of this fermentation was a notable increase in the number and variety of images that depicted singers and sellers of ballads. The ballad singer, who had begun as just one of many stock figures in a series of London street cries and as an appealing subject for the genre scenes that proved attractive to new classes of art buyers, came to embody allusions to the irreverent and rapid spread of the latest news and gossip.

A number of questions arise as we seek to understand this development. Why did artists choose these specific subjects? How might such images have been received by the buying public? And, consequently, what does this imagery say about the place of ballad singers and sellers in eighteenth-century England? Particularly striking here is the persistent representation of types who do not readily correspond with the poor, often unscrupulous, figures so frequently encountered in accounts drawn from other contemporary sources such as court records, ordinances and newspapers.

Let us begin by noting the primary forms in which ballad sellers and singers were depicted in eighteenth-century England. Most likely, the simplified woodcut representations of a ballad singer occasionally included on broadsides with ballads would have been most widely distributed and a readily recognised type across diverse social classes.¹⁹⁶ However, the degree

¹⁹⁴ It is possible that more images of ballad sellers were included on popular broadsides, but such instances are poorly documented on these now rare and selectively preserved sheets.

¹⁹⁵ L. Lippincott, *Selling art in Georgian London. The rise of Arthur Pond*, New Haven 1983, pp. 1–2, for her summary of the initial poor state of English art and M.L. Evans, 'Paintings, prints and politics during the American War. Henry Walton's A Girl Buying a Ballad', *Print quarterly* 19 (2002), p. 12, for his summary of the prosperous state of affairs by the end of the eighteenth century.

¹⁹⁶ S. O'Connell, *The popular print in England, 1550–1850*, London 1999, pp. 17–18.

to which a single image was copied and reused to illustrate a variety of texts suggests that such woodcuts were often stock decorative figures and were not meant to convey a specific message.¹⁹⁷ One family of ballad singers (see image 1.3), for example, was used to mark the start of at least three different ballads printed by a certain Angus, active in Newcastle between 1774 and 1825: 'A New Song', 'Barbara Bell', and 'The Garden of Love',¹⁹⁸ and therefore this image does not seem to have been strictly associated with one particular text. Moreover, as this sampling of titles suggests, it does not appear to be the case that such images were reserved for particularly crude or mean lyrics, which speaks against the negative associations of ballads and their sellers that are often highlighted in studies of these figures.¹⁹⁹ These images certainly provide an important example of the visualisation of such peddlers, but the interpretive value of the woodcut often stopped at this purely decorative, non-judgmental and non-essential use.

A stronger interpretative edge is evident in depictions of ballad singers intended for other markets. As noted, Tempest's publication around 1688 of Laroon's neat dancing pair illustrating the cry of a 'Merry New Song' (see image 1.4) was a breakthrough in the creation of such a type.²⁰⁰ The production of this collection of prints depicting individual hawkers was unprecedented in England. Indeed, although Tempest is described by Antony Griffiths as 'the most interesting and idiosyncratic publisher of the final decades of the century',²⁰¹ he was not one of the major players in print publishing in seventeenth-century London. And neither Laroon nor John Savage, the printmaker responsible for etching some, if not all, of these plates, was known for such work. French and Italian artists had made a name for themselves in the production of such series of images of street sellers,²⁰² which may have inspired Tempest to take the unusual

¹⁹⁷ For example, one image of a general pedlar illustrates *A Mad Crue; Or, That shall be tryde*, London, printed for John Trundle, s.a. (Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 1.444–445), with several other ballads in the collection of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, alone; see, for example, Harding B 22(285), Wood 401(13), 40 Rawl. 566(196), and Douce Ballads 3(7b).

¹⁹⁸ For copies of these ballads, see the Bodleian Library, Oxford: 2806 c.18(218); Harding B 25(16); Harding B 25(710) – all examples published by Angus (Newcastle), active 1774–1825.

¹⁹⁹ See, for instance, the Bodleian databank of ballads (www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/ballads), where one can search by image type (via the Iconclass code of 48 c[c] 75621 for ballad singers), which reveals the full range of songs associated with images of ballad singers.

²⁰⁰ Two basic discussions of this first large-scale production of the cries of London are R. Raines, *Marcellus Laroon*, London 1967, and S. Shesgreen, *The criers and hawkers of London: Engravings and drawings by Marcellus Laroon*, Aldershot 1990.

²⁰¹ A. Griffiths, *The print in Stuart Britain*, London 1998, pp. 244–245.

²⁰² For an extensive overview of series of street cries from various countries, see K.F. Beall, *Kaufrufe und Strassenhändler. Cries and itinerant trades. Eine Bibliographie. A bibliography*, Hamburg 1975, and cat. nos. F 2-F 8 and I 1, I 3, I 25, I 26, and I 33, in particular for the influential earlier series of French and Italian cries.



BARBARA BELL.

O' hang this love, 'tis a serious thing,
 It costs too much to mung a way;
 For better a man in a halter would swing,
 As look at a honey he's now a day,
 Was there ever poor devil so fix'd as I,
 Come to your town by me, the truth I will tell,
 Far better I had hung on yon gallows tree,
 The very first time I saw Barbara Bell
 So right leg, left leg, under leg, over leg
 Barbara Bell is my darling.
 I bring a rake, and not fond of work,
 I crasset myself to go for Leeds fair,
 With my fine new hat, and my brow ruffled shirt,
 And Dacey the barber took flower on my hair,
 These Leeds lasses are all for fun,
 Some drink cider and some drink rum,
 But long legged Davy kick'd out so well,
 That he caper'd away with Barbara Bell.
 So, right leg, &c.
 And who came in but Robin O'Kneek,
 Wee Dickey and Sally, and two or three mair,
 And of my knee would Barbara take,
 Says I why hang it, now that's not fair;
 But Robin he kick'd up a dust in a crack,
 Sticks and fells they went pell mell,
 Clock-faces, besides, and glasses they broke,
 And they tumbled me over poor Barbara Bell.
 So, right leg, &c.
 Never mind, lass, we will do very well now,
 For you can card, both darn and spin.
 I can mend cart gear, and follow the plough,
 And next Whitsuntide the world will begin.
 Some they do call me a gullin fool,
 But I'll tarry no longer in the mumps by myself,
 Up or in bed, at work or at play,
 I can think upon nothing but Barbara Bell.
 So, right leg, &c.
 Last night I went, just for love's sake,
 When all the old folks were fast asleep,
 And off my shoes I did softly take,
 And in at the window then I did peep,
 And who did I spy but Walter Lang's lad,
 But what he was doing I never will tell,
 Next Saturday night, if they all should go mad,
 I will wear a red coat for Barbara Bell,
 So, right leg, left leg, under leg, over leg,
 Barbara Bell is my darling.

Angus, Printer.

Fig. 1.3. Anonymous, *Ballad Singers*, above the song *Barbara Bell*. Newcastle: Angus, ca. 1774–1825, woodcut. Oxford, Bodleian Library: Harding B 25 (116).

step of including French and Italian captions below the English titles on most of these plates. It is also true, however, that works from the Continent dominated the English market for fine prints at this time. The captions in French and Italian may also have been inspired by a desire to



Fig. 1.4. J. Savage? after Marcellus Laroon II, *Merry New Song*, ca. 1688, etching and engraving. London, British Museum, 1972: U.370.25.

give the impression of an association with the production of France and Italy.²⁰³

This project therefore appears to have been one publisher's attempt to break into the up-scale English art market for fine prints with a novel print series. The collection is remarkable for the success it enjoyed and for its propagation throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: not only was the original series re-issued several times, but leading eighteenth-century publishers such as John Bowles and John Overton issued smaller, cheaper copies, while various book publishers included sundry imitations of these prints in their own editions of the texts of the cries of London, thereby extending the reach of the original images into additional markets and to new audiences.²⁰⁴ Laroon's conception of the dancing and singing pair of ballad sellers therefore reached a broad audience, but not because of the unique qualities of this specific image, but primarily because that image was part of a successful and repeatedly imitated and re-issued series.²⁰⁵

What impression, then, might this dancing pair have conveyed to these various viewers throughout the long eighteenth century? Laroon's pair is remarkably decorous in both appearance and behaviour and, as the French

²⁰³ On the prevalence of French and Italian prints in Britain in the later seventeenth century, see Timothy Clayton, *The English print 1688–1802*, London 1997, pp. xii–xiii, and Griffiths, *The print in Stuart Britain*, p. 260. The inclusion of multi-lingual captions was unusual not only for British prints at this time, but for the cries of many cities generally, see Beall, *Kaufleute*.

²⁰⁴ See Raines, *Marcellus Laroon*; Shesgreen, *The criers and hawkers of London*; and Beall, *Kaufleute*, for references to new editions of Tempest's original series and imitations produced thereof. The question is, however, whether all of Tempest's 'new editions' comprised truly new impressions or were simply re-issues of previously printed editions. For the Overton publication, see BM, London registration nos. 1,7.77; 1,7.80; 1,7.81; 1,7.83–85; for Bowles' version of the ballad singers, see the Guildhall Print Dept., London, cat. no. p7517924, and the Collage databank. This series of prints is also preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Douce portfolio 139 (no. 120 for the ballad singers). The immense importance of the Overton and Bowles print publishing firms is discussed in both Clayton, *The English Print*, pp. 5, 75, 105–107, and O'Connell, *The popular print in England*, pp. 51–53. For examples of some of these images in other publisher's books, see Edward Ryland's *Cries of London or Child's Moral Instructor for the use of schools*, London ca. 1766 (Guildhall Library, London, A 5.1, no. 44), *The Jack-of-all-Trades, or the Merry, Merry Cries of London*, Gainsborough 1794 (Guildhall Library, A 7.2, no. 11), and J. Kendrew's *The Cries of London, for the instruction and amusement of good children [...]*, York [1820?] (British Library, London, Ch.820/40 [11]). With thanks to Sean Shesgreen for sharing his unpublished *New hand list of London cries* (copy in the Guildhall Library, London).

²⁰⁵ While imitations of the series, in part or as a whole, dominate, there are occasional examples of just the dancing pair (as well as other specific subjects) being adapted for use in other contexts, serving, for example, as the introductory image on an etched and engraved sheet of music made by George Bickham the Younger, perhaps in the 1730s (see the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, the Emmering collection, box 7, item 59).

and Italian captions to Tempest's print recount, offers not simply a song, but a 'merry new song'. All in all then, theirs is a jovial, engaging and pleasing performance. In editions of the cries of London that feature images based on Laroon's compositions, the introduction (when included) regularly emphasises that the images were gathered primarily for the amusement of their readers; only occasionally, among books supposedly intended for children, do they contain moralistic commentary on their imagery.²⁰⁶ This neutrality is in striking contrast with oft-repeated negative commentary by both contemporaries and present-day scholars, in which references to the vulgar content and strident tones produced by these sellers are frequent.²⁰⁷ Was Laroon's conception of the merry singers so incongruous, or does it perhaps speak of another side to ballad singers, one that lacked the deviant and improper traits that have traditionally drawn attention to these figures? As we shall see, following the initial popularisation of Laroon's image of the ballad singer – and of other street urchins and hawkers – subsequent artists would continue to expand on representations of this type, both reinforcing the sympathetic portrayal of ballad singers and emphasising a negative assessment that could be extreme.

The next ballad-singer type to be successfully propagated, evidently appealing to various artists and audiences alike was, indeed, that of the loose, lowly and disreputable ballad seller-singer. The artist who appears to have initiated depictions of this figure was William Hogarth, in his socially aware satirical images of London life in the 1730s and 1740s. An advocate of social reform and an active participant in the debate over the development of a truly native English school of painting, Hogarth began his career as an engraver, working initially for the successful print

²⁰⁶ See, for example, the introductory remarks to the following editions: *The Cries of London*, London, E. Newbery, 1796, p. iii; *The Cries of London*, London, J. Harris, 1804, p. 4; *The Cries of London*, London, J. Chappell, [ca. 1809], p. v (copies of each of which are in the Houghton Library, Cambridge, Mass.); and the works discussed in David Bywaters and Sean Shesgreen, 'The First London Cries for Children', *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* 59 (1998), pp. 236–250.

²⁰⁷ For examples of negative early nineteenth-century commentary, see various remarks in the publications of John Thomas Smith, such as his *Ancient Topography of London*, London 1815, pp. 41–42, and his *Vagabondiana*, London 1817, p. 24. For more recent remarks concerning the striking character (and volume) of the street cries, see K.F. Jones, 'Street cries in pictures', *The Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 25 (1968), p. 9, and Shesgreen, *Images of the Outcast*, pp. 111–112. For remarks on the different types of ballads published and collected in the eighteenth century, see P. McDowell, 'The Manufacture and Lingua-facture of Ballad-Making'. Broadside Ballads in Long Eighteenth-Century Ballad Discourse', *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 47 (2006), pp. 149–176.

publisher Philip Overton.²⁰⁸ In the 1720s, as he approached age thirty, he began to produce satirical prints, which he soon combined with moralising subject matter. His resulting humorously depicted social commentary and critique, packaged in what some argue to have been a new type of genre painting, the English ‘conversation piece’, were highly influential.²⁰⁹ Hogarth’s earliest work to include a ballad singer, *The Rake at the Rose Tavern*, is the third scene from one such popular series, *The Rake’s Progress*, from 1735 (see image 1.5). This is ostensibly an image of the dissolute ways of the ‘Rake’, Tom Rakewell, who is shown in the left foreground, drunken and attended to (and being stolen from) by the prostitutes known to



Fig. 1.5. William Hogarth, *The Rake at the Rose Tavern*, 1735, etching and engraving. London, British Museum: 1868,0822.1530.

²⁰⁸ Publications referring to Hogarth are too numerous to cite here. For a basic source of his graphic works, which are the focus here, see R. Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, 1965, 3rd ed. London 1989.

²⁰⁹ D.H. Solkin, *Painting for money. The visual arts and the public sphere in eighteenth-century England*, New Haven 1993, pp. 79–89.

frequent this famed disreputable tavern in Covent Garden. Among Hogarth's usual plethora of supplementary details is an unmistakably pregnant ballad singer who stands near the doorway at the far right in ragged clothes holding out a page bearing the title of a known indecent song, 'Black Joke', in very large black letters. Far from Laroon's attractive ballad seller who engagingly displays her wares together with her male partner, this woman shows the uncomfortable reality of a potentially abandoned woman (the Rake dismissed his own pregnant lover, Sarah, in the first scene of this series) with few resources. She is an explicit display of the bawdy associations of ballad singers as they were known then, and have come down to us, in English papers and penal records.

Although today one might easily overlook the full implications of this lowly singer on the edge of the image, such figures became potent recurring motifs in Hogarth's paintings and other works that clearly stayed with his contemporaries and became part of their visual vocabulary. The immediate success of Hogarth's images beyond the upper-class collectors who might have purchased his original compositions is attested to by the rapid production of cheaper imitations and copies of his works. These reproductions included the type of the unprincipled ballad singer and would have served to disseminate this depiction among an even wider audience. Apparently this portrayal of the ballad singer, the near opposite of Laroon's decorous pair, struck home, most likely because it reminded people of a figure frequently encountered in their own communities. But perhaps even more significant for the evolution of the portrayal of ballad singers is that in contrast with Laroon's pair, who were forever bound to series of the cries of London, the wanton ballad singer emerged as a distinct visual type with its own independent iconographic associations that could be applied to other types of works of art. And yet, despite the evident wider interest in and knowledge of this type, the indiscrete strident ballad singer would more often than not continue to function primarily as just one detail of an image, contributing to a larger message. It would take another development in eighteenth-century English art, the 'fancy picture', to make ballad sellers themselves the focus and subject of the work of art created.

According to Martin Postle, 'the "fancy picture" was among the most original, popular, and self-consciously modern art forms to have emerged in Britain during the eighteenth century'.²¹⁰ Coined in the eighteenth century itself, the term 'fancy picture' has, from the beginning, been used loosely and is usually associated with sentimental genre scenes of children,

²¹⁰ M. Postle, *Angels and urchins. The fancy picture in 18th-century British art*, London 1998, p. 5.

street sellers and beggars that never let too much realistic detail impinge on the pleasure of looking at the image.²¹¹ According to Postle, 'fancy' was more akin to 'fantasy', and the main goal of the painting, however mean and vulgar the ostensible subject, was to please the viewer.²¹² Thus, these images return us to the realm of Laroon's pleasing distractions for a well-off middle class, who knew of but did not want to focus on the realities of the poor, ragged street vendors who occupied the streets around them.

While fancy pictures emerged as an independent genre in the first half of the eighteenth century, at the same time as Hogarth's new satirical conversation pieces, it was not until the second half of the eighteenth century that images featuring ballad sellers were produced in any quantity. One such work that was extremely successful at the time was Henry Robert Morland's *Girl Singing Ballads by a Lanthorn* (see image 1.6). Not only did Morland exhibit at least seven different versions of this image at the Free Society of Artists between 1764 and 1782, but at least two independent mezzotints were made after it.²¹³ The timing and place of exhibition of Morland's works is significant given the contemporaneous founding of the Royal Academy, in 1768, by George III. An exclusive society rather than one open to all artists of talent, the Royal Academy initially sought to promote the development of an English school of history painting in 'the grand manner', conventionally regarded as the most elevated art form.²¹⁴ This attitude was in obvious contrast to the more inclusive, democratic principles embraced by the existing Society of Artists, which supported the exhibition of works like Morland's nocturnal image of a girl singing ballads. Consequently, the subsequent presentation at the Royal Academy of other similarly successful fancy pictures featuring ballad sellers is extremely significant, for this suggests that the figure of a ballad seller, when cleaned-up and presented as a non-threatening or even appealing entity, had gained some level of acceptance at the upper levels of the English art market.²¹⁵ Perhaps the best known of such works are Henry

²¹¹ For a general introduction to fancy pictures, see Postle, *Angels and urchins*, pp. 5–8, and Mary Webster, *Francis Wheatley*, London 1970, p. 70.

²¹² Postle, *Angels and urchins*, p. 5.

²¹³ For the exhibition of this work, see Postle, *Angels and urchins*, p. 83 (cat. 64). For examples of prints after this image, see, for example, BM 1944, 1014.596 and BM 1871, 0812.2493. See Postle, *Angels and urchins*, fig. 26 and pl. 50 for other examples of picturesque children selling songs in the streets.

²¹⁴ For this assessment of the Royal Academy, see Solkin, *Painting for money*, pp. 240, 260, 266.

²¹⁵ For the importance of possible sexual readings of 'fancy pictures' generally, see Postle, *Angels and urchins*, pp. 17–19, and Evans, 'Paintings, prints and politics', in which he discusses the various renditions and possible interpretations of Walton's image cited below.



Fig. 1.6. Anonymous after H.R. Morland, *A Girl Singing Ballads by a Paper Lantern*, ca. 1750–1775, mezzotint. London, British Museum: 1871,0812.2493.

Walton's 1778 *A Girl Buying a Ballad* and Francis Wheatley's *A New Love Song* (see image 1.7).²¹⁶ Both were soon popularised in print form, with reproductions of Wheatley's ballad seller continuing to be reissued

²¹⁶ For more on Wheatley's images of the cries of London, see Webster, *Francis Wheatley*, pp. 81–85; Clayton, *The English Print*, pp. 218–220; and Shesgreen, *Images of the Outcast*, pp. 131–132.



Fig. 1.7. A. Cardon after Francis Wheatley, *A New Love Song only Ha'penny*, 1796, stipple engraving. London, British Museum: 1871,1209.604.

throughout the nineteenth century, thereby ensuring its long life in the English visual memory.

Although discussions of fancy pictures repeatedly emphasise that they cannot be looked upon as truly realistic images, there must have been

some grain of truth in them if they were to be accepted as a type of genre painting. Indeed, the boundaries between the reputedly unrealistic fancy pictures and studies of popular recognisable figures, including street performers, were not always obvious. Consider, for example, the image of an old, not too handsome, ballad singer in image 1.8. Originally painted by George Carter, it was reproduced in print form in 1775 by John Raphael Smith.²¹⁷ Compositionally, *The Old Ballad Singer* is similar to Wheatley's *A New Love Song*: both show a group of people (including a woman and child) quietly contemplating or engaging a ballad seller, who stands unassertively to one side in the street. The fact that a contemporary added the name 'John Massey' to Smith's print suggests that this image could have been based upon or at least recalled a known figure. This identification underscores two important points: first, that the subjects of fancy pictures may well have been based on actual street figures, and second, that the interaction between these street vendors, on the one hand, and the artists and purchasers of these works, on the other, meant that some of the former were known by name and that such personal encounters did not necessarily induce their negative portrayal. This is not to say that representations of the jarring and bawdy aspects of ballad sellers had fallen by the wayside after Hogarth's introduction of them earlier in the century. Negative portrayals of ballad singers abounded in one last unavoidable and unmistakably English eighteenth-century art form, namely, the satirical print.

While satirical images were a common part of eighteenth-century English print production, it was not until the period between about 1780 and 1800, during the so-called great age of English satire, that ballad singers were often incorporated into these images.²¹⁸ Produced by various publishers and representing distinct political views, these prints would have had an impact that was not limited only to those who could afford them, but was also felt by those who understood their allusions.²¹⁹

²¹⁷ Evans even associates this painting and print with Walton's 'A Girl Buying a Ballad', cited above; see Evans, 'Paintings, prints and politics', p. 16.

²¹⁸ See BM Satires, vol. 5, p. xvi and vol. 6, p. xi, for this characterisation. Two well-known exceptions to this general pattern are Hogarth's *Gin Lane*, which features a drunken, emaciated male ballad seller in the lower right, symbolising the evils of too much cheap gin (see Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, I, no. 186; BM Satires, cat. 3136); and Paul Sandby's amusing, vulgar male ballad seller in his 'Fun upon Fun' etching from his 1760 selection of images of London street cries. For more on this series see, for example, M. Bills, 'The cries of London by Paul Sandby and Thomas Rowlandson', *Print Quarterly* 20 (March 2003), pp. 34–41.

²¹⁹ See O'Connell, *The popular print in England*, pp. 11–12.



Fig. 1.8. John Raphael Smith after George Carter, *The Old Ballad Seller* (John Massey), 1775, mezzotint. London, British Museum: 1851,0308.472.

Although none of the artists responsible for these prints devised a new rendition of the ballad singer-seller or made the figure a typifying trait of their production, their work was innovative in its use of these familiar types of ballad singers. The ballad singer or seller functioned as a

commentary on English society as a whole, as well as on certain figures in particular, generally either by showing individuals reduced to the sorry and often beggar-like state of a ballad seller or, more frequently, by showing a ballad singer observing, participating in or spreading the tale of the scandal featured in the image. While the former was an easy means of ridiculing an individual or a government policy, the latter may reflect the old characterisation of ballad sellers as figures who could spread the latest news and gossip within hours via quickly composed and printed songs, just as the newsboys – figures who are also often included in these satires – did via the papers they distributed.²²⁰ As Mary Dorothy George observed, ‘there was a close relation between the parliamentary debate, the newspaper, and the political print, as well as between written and graphic satire’.²²¹

Regardless of the reasons behind the inclusion of the ballad seller in satirical images, the figure was always a caricatured, generally negative stereotype without any pretence that an actual pedlar was portrayed. What they represented may alone have been based upon actual experience – the strident and discordant presence of singers and the speed with which printers and distributors of ballads could record and respond to the latest contentious or embarrassing event.

The expanding eighteenth-century English art market thus fostered the creation of various images of ballad sellers. These ranged from non-threatening, evocative images of solitary figures to the decorative and potentially arbitrary inclusion of ballad singers in broadsides and series of the cries of London, and to the calculated use of certain types to underscore a political statement. This variety is a phenomenon readily attributable to the distinct origins and purposes of the works containing these images.

Nevertheless, one should not forget the diversity among ballad singers and sellers actually present in eighteenth-century English society. By all accounts, there were hundreds of ballad singers working the streets of London alone, not to mention those who went to country towns, fairs and markets.²²² It is only logical that with such numbers of practitioners of the

²²⁰ For examples see McDowell, *The women of Grub Street*, pp. 60–61, and Mayhew, *London labour and the London poor*, 1: 275

²²¹ BM Satires, vol. 6, p. xi.

²²² For seventeenth-century figures see T. Watt, ‘Publisher, pedlar, pot-poet: The changing character of the broadside trade, 1550–1640’, in R. Myers and M. Harris (eds), *Spreading the word. The distribution networks of print 1550–1850*, Winchester 1990, p. 72; for nineteenth century figures see Mayhew, *London labour and the London poor*, 1: 306; estimates for the eighteenth century are lacking.

art of selling and singing ballads, there would have been a commensurate variety in their origin, habits and appearance. It is similarly logical that such variety would not be readily evident from legal and textual sources, which by their very nature would have given prominence only to the more sensational, disruptive and deviant types. As Henry Mayhew's work on the poor on the streets of London in the nineteenth century makes clear, the reasons for their presence could differ, along with their personal (in)capabilities, and their modes of existence.²²³ Given the number of non-vulgar images highlighted in this survey, representing types that are rarely recorded in other sources, perhaps the common negative view of ballad singers as a poor and mean lot should be adjusted to include other types evident from these visual sources. This evidence suggests that there were also ballad sellers who were better known, more respectable and did not create scandals that were reported in the papers or cause trouble with the law, but rather tried to survive on the streets as best they could.

Dutch Images

While one may have to fight for recognition of more neutral or even potentially sympathetic views of ballad sellers and singers in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England, a diversity of views was already evident in Netherlandish works of art of the seventeenth century.²²⁴ However, just as the development of the English art market determined at least in part how street singers were portrayed there, the distinctive Netherlandish art market favoured certain forms in which various pedlars, including street singers, were portrayed.²²⁵ For example, in place of standardised series of street cries or the portrait and portrait-like studies and satirical images with a street singer that many English buyers evidently preferred, Netherlandish customers could choose from a wider variety of products in a broader price range, which suggests that the market for such images was much greater and more diverse in the Netherlands than in England. This diversity is evident not only in the medium used for the image – which ranged from cheap woodcuts, to paintings and special decorative items – but also in the variety of the messages associated with these representations of street singers, which were conveyed by accompanying

²²³ See Mayhew, *London labour and the London poor*, 1: 213–323 for his detailed account of various pedlars specialising in the sale of paper goods, including songs.

²²⁴ See Bowen, 'Sounding out a public's view of pedlars with texts'.

²²⁵ Ibid., and see the contributions in R. Harms, J. Raymond and J. Salman (eds), *Not dead things: The dissemination of popular print in England and Wales, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500–1900*, Leiden and Boston 2013.

texts. The result, as will be shown, is a surprisingly diverse assortment of views that all evidently filled some niche among the various layers of the Dutch market for images. But before we can delve into the interpretation of these works, we must consider a fundamental issue, namely, the essential aspects of Netherlandish depictions of these street salesmen and women.

Material Aspects

Perhaps the single most important characteristic of Netherlandish visual representations of pedlars selling printed-paper wares is the variety of media in which these pedlars were depicted. By far the most significant, because they were likely to be disseminated among various classes of buyers, including poorer individuals, were the images included in inexpensive penny prints.²²⁶ In terms of both their form – a single sheet or part of a single sheet bearing some combination of letterpress and visual embellishment via often crudely made woodcuts – as well as their commensurate low price, this printed material appears to be closest in form to the popular illustrated ballad sheets sold in England.

There is, however, one essential difference between these two examples drawn from the mass distribution of depictions of pedlars selling paper wares, and of ballad singers in particular, namely, the relationship between and relative significance of the image and text. As argued above, representations of ballad sellers on English ballad sheets most likely served primarily as decorative additions intended to enliven the page, with little interpretative weight. Among the Netherlandish penny prints, however, the visual elements dominate the page to such an extent that the viewer might assume that the accompanying text is itself of little consequence. While this judgement may be correct in some cases, it is not at all accurate for prints that bear representations of this group of pedlars, for here the brief accompanying texts – the title and the line or verse below the image itself – are often essential for knowing how one should identify and interpret the pedlar represented. Consider, for example, two uses of the same woodcut of a woman with a basket on her arm, both published by the publisher Johannes Noman. In one untitled print, the woman is identified simply as an almanac seller; in the other print, the viewer is warned from the start – in the title – that one should not believe what any of the figures say about their goods, a caveat that covers the same woman

²²⁶ For more on penny prints see M. de Meyer, *De volks- en kinderprent in de Nederlanden van de 15e tot de 20e eeuw*, Antwerp and Amsterdam 1962, and C.F. van Veen, *Drie eeuwen Noord-Nederlandse kinderprenten*, The Hague 1971.

with a basket on her arm, who is now identified as a wandering song seller.²²⁷

Consequently, while both types of mass multimedia would have reached both poorer and wealthier customers, Netherlandish penny prints would have made a greater contribution to forming specific ideas about pedlars than their English counterparts. Indeed, because these prints were produced throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in huge quantity, they may have constituted the single most pervasive source of representations.²²⁸ Nevertheless, as shall be argued below, the supplementary value of representations of pedlars in other media must not be ignored when trying to assess the overall image of street sellers. Let us consider, for example, the numerous paintings that also featured such pedlars.

The Dutch painting market in the seventeenth century is noteworthy for both the remarkably large number of painters active and the unusually broad base of purchasers, which included the working middle class in addition to the upper classes. Visitors to Holland remarked on what was, in comparison with their own countries, an exceptionally expansive and burgeoning production.²²⁹ With such a large market for paintings, there was room for many distinct types of paintings. Of particular import here are the numerous renditions of recognisable town squares and markets that on occasion included a pedlar or street singer at work. Although paintings lack the brief identifying or explanatory texts that often accompanied printed images such as penny prints or book illustrations, a general sense of their approach can be read from their composition. Particularly in the case of detailed depictions of familiar town squares, the rendition of the subject is intended to be credible, and that subject includes the street singer. The combination of credible setting and the presence of a street singer suggests that the latter were not necessarily regarded negatively and that some street singers may even have engendered positive associations that the middle-to-upper class buyer was happy to recall via the painted image.

²²⁷ See K. Bowen, 'Peddling in texts and images: The Dutch visual perspective, 1600–1850', in Harms et al. (eds), *Not dead things*, pp. 153–180, for more examples of the need to read the accompanying text in penny prints in order to know which type of pedlar is represented.

²²⁸ See P. Vansummeren, *Kinderprenten van Brepols*, Turnhout 1996, on large numbers of prints sold annually by Brepols.

²²⁹ See M.J. Bok, 'The rise of Amsterdam as a cultural centre: the market for paintings, 1580–1680', in P. O'Brien et al. (eds), *Urban achievement in early modern Europe. Golden ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London*, Cambridge 2001, pp. 186–209.

The existence and presumable purchase of these various paintings indicates that people were willing to spend a more significant part of their savings than the few cents needed to purchase penny prints on more costly works of art that included images of everyday scenes with sundry pedlars and street singers. The appeal of these subjects to those with money to spend is also affirmed by the production of works for more specialised markets, such as highly finished drawings, decorative tiles and fashionable writing paper. Once again, the absence of accompanying texts makes it harder to determine how these images would have been received. Nevertheless, one can safely assume that the spending of money can be equated with the appeal of the object acquired, and therefore that the subject itself – the street singer or the pedlar with other paper wares for sale – was not an incongruous choice for potential buyers in the Netherlandish art market.

One medium in which one can readily find examples of pedlars – in particular, street singers and Jewish lottery-ticket salesmen – picked out with a deliberately critical eye is illustrated instructive, and often moralising, children's books. Of all the media that would have contributed to the image of print-selling pedlars in the Netherlands, such children's books have the closest links to their English parallel, namely, the moralising children's books that featured the street criers of London and ABCs.²³⁰ In both countries, it is clear that the compilers of such works usually chose to warn their readers about the inappropriate aspects of the street criers' performance or merchandise. But, as shall be discussed below, in the Netherlandish imagery at least, even these more negative cautionary perspectives are counterbalanced in the same media by other more empathetic views of these pedlars, once again revealing an unexpectedly diverse range of views on this one group of salesmen and women.

Thematic Contexts

Thus far, we have noted the distinguishing features of Netherlandish visualisations of pedlars with paper wares, and of street singers in particular, in terms of the material form of the object bearing the image of the pedlar. We turn now briefly to another characteristic aspect of the Netherlandish portrayal of these street sellers – its setting.

We have already encountered one such setting, namely, town squares or markets, and these figures are also found in fair scenes. Such representations were not limited to paintings. Singers performing at markets or

²³⁰ Bywaters and Shesgreen, 'The first London cries for children'.

fairs are present in various forms and in various media: single etchings, penny prints with woodcuts, book illustrations, decorative writing paper and drawings, as well as paintings. In many of these images, the singers are not shown simply in some city street, as is usually the case in English works; rather, they are often depicted standing on something – a platform or box, or a raised part of a bridge or road – with a cloth hanging behind them on which one or more scenes are painted, at which the singer-performer could point while trying to sell his or her song (see image 1.9).



Fig. 1.9. I.T. van der Vooren, *Rolzanger Lange Jan bij het standbeeld van Erasmus te Rotterdam* [The ballad singer Tall John near the statue of Erasmus in Rotterdam], ca. 1790, oil on wood. Rotterdam, Historisch Museum: 11031.

Although such versions of singers can also be found elsewhere in continental Europe, they are strikingly absent from English imagery, even though Henry Mayhew describes such performers in his account of poor street traders in London ca. 1850.²³¹ The degree to which such performers pervade Netherlandish imagery underscores not only how common they were, but that they would have been familiar to all layers of Dutch society.

Pedlars with paper wares are also to be found in Netherlandish imagery depicting a series of occupations or amusements. Such depictions are clearly reminiscent of the cries of London series that, as discussed above, played an important role in popularising representations of ballad singers-sellers and other types of pedlars selling paper wares, but there are several essential differences between the two series, in particular medium and cost.²³² The Netherlandish representations of street vendors were typically produced as small rudimentary woodblocks that were then combined to form a single broadside or penny print (see image 1.10). While English versions of the cries of London could take many forms, most were to be found either in a large collection of etchings or in finely executed wood engravings for the embellishment of a book. Whichever the case, the cost of several etchings or a book comprising many leaves of costly paper would have far exceeded the price of a single penny print, suggesting that while a wide range of buyers could have afforded the Netherlandish penny prints, only wealthier individuals would have owned the English series. Such variation can also be recognised in the ostensible goals that lay behind the creation of these images. The English images were clearly directed towards those who would appreciate a display of virtuoso technique or clever satirical descriptions and commentary, while the Netherlandish penny prints combined amusing or practical messages with rudimentary images that were more suited for those with simpler tastes, who may have interacted with pedlars on a daily basis or, indeed, have known pedlars personally. This distinctive variation in the presentation of comparable themes underscores, once again, the essential difference in the public for whom these images were made and, consequently, the degree to and manner in which they could affect the visualisation of pedlars by society as a whole.

²³¹ Mayhew, *London labour and the London poor*, 1: 215, 232. J.T. Smith's portrayal of a man with a single image of cat on the board he carries is the closest we have found to the Netherlandish performers; see O'Connell, *The popular print in England*.

²³² For a more extensive discussion of this issue, see Bowen, 'Peddling in texts and images'.



Fig. 1.10. Johannes Egbertus Lieshout, *Onderscheidene bedrijven*, ca. 1841, a newspaper salesman is second from the left in the second row. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet: RP-P-OB-102.368.

Thus, not only is this pool of Netherlandish depictions of pedlars selling some sort of printed-paper wares clearly distinct from its English counterpart, but the public for whom these works were made appears to have been much more diverse in terms of social position and income. What,

then, does this assemblage of imagery reveal about the place of these pedlars within Dutch society?

Range of Interpretation

When summarising what can be learned from Netherlandish portrayals of pedlars about attitudes toward these pedlars, the essential principle must be that no single attitude dominated, neither with regard to the social class to whom particular sorts of images may have been directed, nor in terms of the medium or form in which the image was made.²³³ In the inexpensive penny prints, street singers were depicted as either lazy and untrustworthy individuals or, more positively, as part of the standard amusements at a local fair. In some instances, poorer individuals were even encouraged to consider working as pedlars, so as to earn their income honestly instead of begging.²³⁴ Similarly, among more costly items that only those with some money to spare could have afforded, such as instructive moralising books for the young, street singers might be portrayed negatively, while in other instances, parents and children are taught to engage politely and sympathetically with honest working pedlars. Among paintings, there are occasional satirical works, such as Andries Both's depiction of the five senses, which includes a mocking portrayal of an apparently tuneless street singer for 'Het gehoor' (hearing). But there is a far greater number of paintings and drawings of identifiable local squares that include a non-judgmental depiction of a street singer as a common and presumably non-repulsive element of that recognisable scene – for the painting was made to appeal to its potential buyer.

Attitudes towards these pedlars were, thus, not uniform; neither are they easily compartmentalised and classified. The truly broad and diverse views attest to both the positive and negative aspects of peddling and ballad selling. The spectrum of possible perspectives offered by these visualisations of pedlars makes them a highly valuable resource, but one that is most useful when considered not in isolation, but in conjunction with written material. The textual commentary that accompanies many of these images is often essential for understanding the specific message that one specific image conveyed at one specific time. A further interpretative

²³³ The great variety of attitudes within single media (such as penny prints or illustrated books) that were available to different social classes is documented in greater detail in Bowen, 'Peddling in texts and images'.

²³⁴ This last form of encouragement is discussed in greater detail in Bowen, 'Sounding out a public's view of pedlars with texts', pp. 104–107.

framework is provided by textual and archival accounts and records pertaining to peddlars and their work. The normative and literary documents that have been our sources to this point are not the only well from which we can draw. Several useful ego documents – texts composed by peddlars about their own lives – provide yet another comparative approach.

PEDLARS AND THEIR SELF-IMAGE

How did peddlars themselves judge their role in the book trade, and in society as a whole? What were their aspirations and goals, and how did they respond to the many critical and satirical attacks? Source material that allows us to answer these questions is not abundant, but a number of diaries, autobiographies, biographies and other texts can shed light on the self-image of the pedlar. None of these texts can be considered highbrow literature and they are therefore often neglected.

For England and Scotland our main informants are Dougal Graham, David Love, William Cameron (Hawkie), John Magee and William Magee. Graham is our earliest example. His life is described and fictionalised in the anonymous chapbook *The History of John Cheap the Chapman, Containing above a Hundred Merry Exploits done by him and his Fellow Traveller, Droughty Tom, a Sticket Shaver* (Edinburgh 1785), which is associated with Graham by George Caldwell, a chapbook printer from Paisley.²³⁵ The remarkable autobiography of David Love appeared in two versions: the first was a series of eight-page chapbooks in verse entitled *The life of David Love. Part 1. Containing his Birth, Parentage and Education with Several Curious Transactions During his Youth* ('For the author by J. Marshall, Old Flesh Market, Newcastle', n.d.); the second was a completely overhauled version, mainly in prose, published in 1823 by Sutton and Son, who were radical printers, under the title *The life, adventures, and experiences of David Love*.

William Cameron was a famous Scottish patterer and chapbook seller who wrote *Hawkie: Autobiography of a gangrel* [beggar] (Glasgow 1888). The work was edited – not written, as is sometimes suggested – by John Strathesk.²³⁶ Finally, John Magee wrote two markedly religious accounts of his life: *Some account of the travels of John Magee, pedlar and flying*

²³⁵ J. Morris, 'The Scottish chapman', in Myers et al. (eds), *Fairs, markets and the itinerant book trade*, p. 164.

²³⁶ Ibid., p. 176. *Hawkie. The Autobiography of a Gangrel*, ed. John Strathesk, Glasgow 1888 (British Library 10827 aa 24).

stationer, in *North and South Britain, in the years 1806 and 1808* (Edinburgh?, 1826) and *An account of many wonderful instances of Divine Providence which have occurred to John Magee* (Edinburgh, 181?). His namesake William Magee was a small-scale Edinburgh bookseller who published *Recollections of a personal interview with the late Laird of Dundonnell, at his cottage in Lochbroom during a tour through the North Highlands, in 1819–20. By an itinerant bookseller* (Edinburgh, published by William Magee, Bookseller, 1830). William Magee traded predominantly in chapbooks and tells of his trade in the Highlands, his practices and his stock.²³⁷ Other pedlar writers, such as Alexander Wilson of Paisley, who wrote two narrative poems spoken in the character of a chapman, *The Pack* and *The Loss of the Pack*, will also make a brief appearance below.²³⁸

The Dutch examples are the eighteenth-century author Harmanus Koning (ca. 1735–ca. 1803) and three nineteenth-century authors: Egbert Koning, Kees Meijer and Johannes 't Lindenhout. *De ongelukkige levensbeschrijving van een Amsterdammer* [The unhappy life and times of an Amsterdam bookseller] (1775) is an autobiographical work attributed to Harmanus Koning, a bookseller and newsvendor in Amsterdam in the second half of the eighteenth-century. Like Harmanus, Egbert Koning (1792–1861) reflected on his life and work in an autobiographical work, but he did so under his own name; his memoir is published under the title *Ware beschrijving wegens den levensloop van mij Egbert Koning, door wie dit boek zelf is gemaakt en uitgegeven in den ouderdom van 68 jaar* [True history of my life, by Egbert Koning, who has written and published this book at the age of 68 years] (n. p., 1860).²³⁹ In 1888, Johannes 't Lindenhout published his memoirs, *Na vijf-en-twintig jaren: levensherinneringen* [After five and twenty years: personal recollections] (Nijmegen). It had fallen to 't Lindenhout's lot to run his father's farm in Beuningen, but he decided to become a Bible pedlar and an evangelist. Kees Meijer (1818–1885), a famous Amsterdam ballad singer from the second half of the nineteenth century was described in detail by the local journalist A.B. de Matha in the magazine *De Amsterdamsche Figaro*. Although Meijer did not write down his own life in the form of an autobiography, he did publish accounts of some of his experiences, such as his activities as a cook,²⁴⁰ which along

²³⁷ Morris, 'The Scottish chapman', p. 166.

²³⁸ Ibid., p. 165.

²³⁹ For a copy of this work see UB Leiden BGWMNL. This work is discussed in J. Pannekeet, 'Een singulier boekske', in *West-Frieslands Oud en Nieuw* 45 (1978), pp. 26–36.

²⁴⁰ H.F. Wijnman, 'De Amsterdamse liedjeszanger Kees Meijer (1818–1885)', *Jaarboek van het genootschap Amstelodamum* 61 (1969), pp. 155–171.

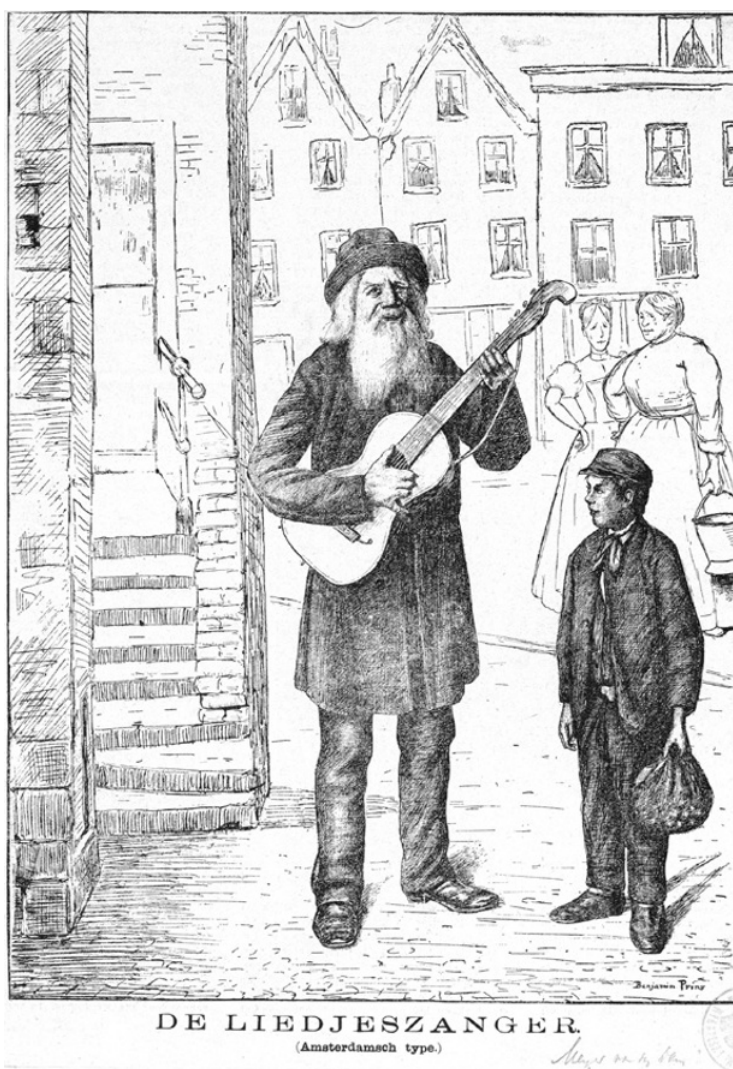


Fig. 1.11. Benjamin Prins, *The Ballad Singer Kees Meijer in the Kalverstraat* (Amsterdam), nineteenth century. Amsterdam: Stadsarchief.

with other sources reveal the way he reflected on his life and work. When Meijer died in 1885 he was a nationally known ballad singer and was honoured with a necrology (see image 1.11).²⁴¹

²⁴¹ Wijnman, 'De Amsterdamse liedjeszanger Kees Meijer', p. 167.

These biographical sources do not represent an unambiguously 'true' account of the pedlars' experiences. They almost certainly contain fictionalised elements and memories shaped by time. Because it is impossible to verify or discredit all the facts in these sources, they are considered not so much as historical accounts, but more as a reflection of how the authors wanted to be remembered. Drawing from these ego-document sources, we will address three aspects of these pedlars: first, their economic struggle to survive and their commercial strategies, second, the juxtaposition of their images, for example as swindler and preacher, and third, their role as distributors of respectable goods.

The Struggle for Life

The image of the pedlar who struggled to make a livelihood has likely no edge but is rather a faithful and truthful account. Pedlars often balanced on the edge of subsistence and might combine hawking with begging. Petitions from English hawkers throughout the English Civil War illustrate that struggle very well. During the turbulent 1640s pedlars and ballad singers were important distributors of printed texts. Although they were suppressed by local and national government, and also by the Stationers' Company, they fought for their rights by means of petitions. In 1649, for instance, a petition to Lord General Fairfax from 'hawkers of books' – mainly maimed soldiers and poor tradesmen – defended their position by pointing to their poverty and their need to sell 'papers in the streets' to keep from starving. They referred to an ordinance of Parliament and an act of the Common Council that prohibited the crying or selling of books or papers in the streets of London. They begged for the mitigation of these measures, promising 'never to sell papers' reflecting on the proceedings of the Common Council and to 'discover transgressors'.²⁴²

This example reveals that not only poverty but also physical disability, ranging from being crippled to blindness, could be a reason for resorting to street selling. It is therefore not coincidental that disabled soldiers often appear among the street sellers.²⁴³ Graham, for instance, possibly had a hunchback, Cameron, alias Hawkie, was crippled and Love was lame. Love's arm had been crushed in a mining accident, after which his parents supposedly refused to care for him, forcing him to leave home and start selling books. Later he started to sell cheap print and sometimes had

²⁴² McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, dd. ?-04-1649, 01-06-1650.

²⁴³ M. Harris, 'A few shillings for small books: the experience of a flying stationer in the 18th Century', in Myers and Harris, *Spreading the word*, p. 89.

to resort to selling printed petitions, which was a form of charity, or even begging (see image 1.12).²⁴⁴

Very few pedlars offered just one type of goods, such as printed books; instead they combined all sorts of cultural and consumer goods. Love hawked printed texts, but he also had cotton balls, needles, thimbles, laces and buttons amongst his wares.²⁴⁵ Still, diversity did not guarantee a stable income. Peddling provided an uncertain livelihood. Pedlars therefore often moved through a series of professions during their lives. John Cheap served in the Highland army during the Jacobite rebellion of 1745²⁴⁶ and later obtained the post of skellat bellman of Glasgow because the public role was similar to his work as a street seller. Love was successively a miner, a village schoolmaster, a soldier and a pedlar.²⁴⁷ The Dutch pedlar Egbert Koning experimented with sundry jobs that included labourer, farmer, butcher, shop owner, haberdasher, poet and pedlar of books and tin ware (see image 1.13).

Some of these pedlars did not start hawking as a last resort but rather considered it a proper way to earn a living. William Cameron decided to become a hawker when he saw the old man Jamie Blue on the streets 'calling' an eight-page book; he recalled, 'I watched him, and he was selling tolerably well. I thought that, if he made a living by that, I could try and breathe the same air.'²⁴⁸ Some pedlars hoped their profession would be the path to wealth. Dougal Graham, alias Cheap John, recorded that very soon after he took to the road he had had to adjust his ambitions: 'I made myself a chapman when very young, in great hopes of being rich when I became old, but fortune was sickle and so was I; for I had not been a Chapman about two days, until I began to consider the danger of deep ditches, midden-dubs [muck heaps], biting dogs and bogles in barns.'²⁴⁹ We have found only one example of a pedlar who did indeed become wealthy, and that is a Dutch example, the aforementioned Francois van der Linden. Van der Linden accumulated his fortune not by hawking goods, however, but by buying bonds.

What strategies did pedlars adopt in order to earn their living? Those who had neither a shop in which to display title pages nor the means to

²⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 89.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 90.

²⁴⁶ Cheap John probably fought on the side of the Jacobite forces. Other pedlars who had been soldiers were John Magee, James Allen and Dougal Graham. Harris, 'A few shillings for small books', p. 91.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 90.

²⁴⁸ Quoted in Morris, 'The Scottish chapman', p. 169.

²⁴⁹ *The History of John Cheap the Chapman* [...], Edinburgh 1785, pp. 2–3.

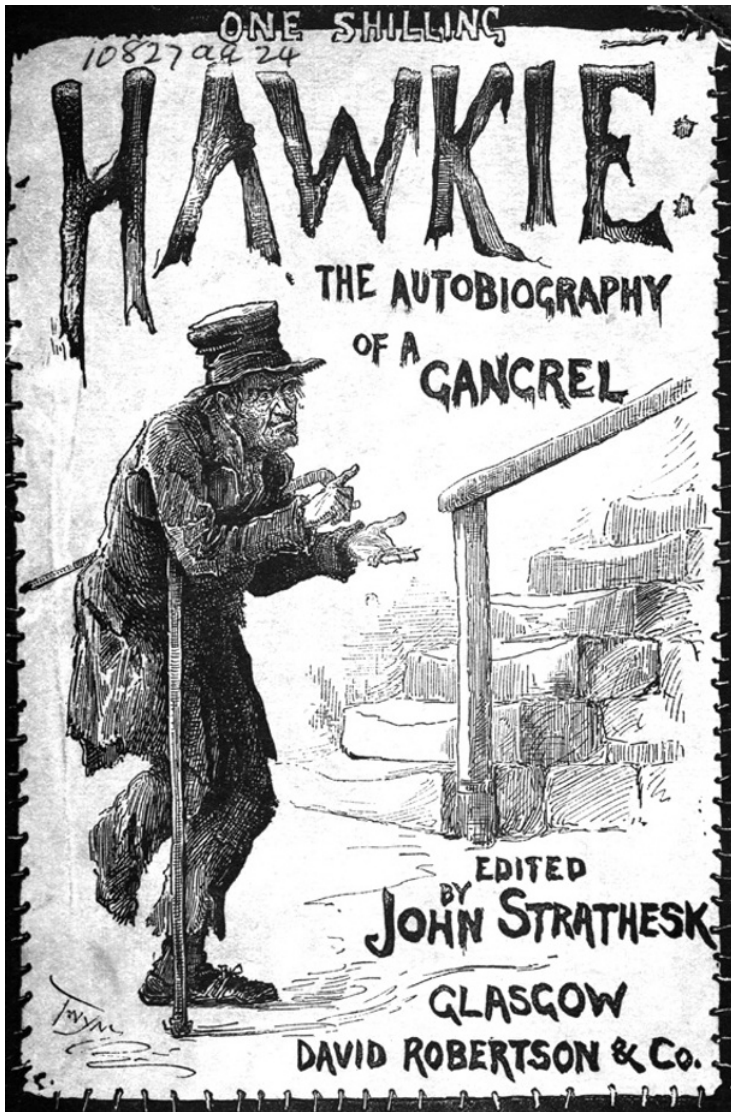


Fig. 1.12. Scottish patterer and chapbook seller William Cameron alias Hawkie, from the title page of his autobiography, *Hawkie: Autobiography of a Gangrel*. Glasgow, David Robertson & Co, 1888. London, British Library: 10827 aa 24.

THE
HISTORY
OF
John Cheap
THE
CHAPMAN

Containing above a HUNDRED Merry Exploits
done by him and his Fellow Traveller,

Drouthy TOM, a Sticket Shaver.



EDINBURGH;

Printed and Sold in Niddry's-wynd, 1785

Fig. 1.13. The life of the Scottish pedlar Douglass Graham is fictionalised in *The History of John Cheap the Chapman*, of which the title page is reproduced here. Edinburgh, Niddry's-wynd, 1785. London, British Library 12331.b.34.(7.).

advertise in newspapers had to develop other ways to inform their potential customers of their wares. Besides crying and singing on the streets, they could use their own publications to bring their supply out into the open. William Magee killed two birds with one stone by adding a description of his stock to his autobiography. On his journeys he also carried in the crown of his hat a written stock list that recorded, for example, pamphlets ranging in cost from three to sixpence, almanacs for three pence and songbooks for four pence. The material he offered ranged from copies of *The Belfast Almanack*, *A Brief Memoir of Bonaparte* and *The London Spy* to songbooks such as *The Blackbird* and *The Jovial Songster*.²⁵⁰

Magee used other tactics, which included selling publications he had produced himself. In England, there was commercial incentive to do so, for those who sold their own products did not need to carry an official hawker's license, saving them money and time and enabling them to sidestep legal restrictions. Love wrote his own songs, inspired by his personal experiences.²⁵¹ Cheap John wrote and published chapbooks with 'pawky humour and shrewd wit'. His works *Jockey and Maggy's courtship*, *The coalman's courtship*, *The comical sayings of paddy from Cork*, *The witty and entertaining exploits of George Buchanan*, *The History of Haverel Wives*, *Leper the tailor* and *John Cheap the Chapman* enjoyed a long and successful life in the market for cheap print.

William Cameron (Hawkie) described in detail how he cleverly profited from his position as a news broker, author and distributor. When he was in Edinburgh, a rumour spread that a man dressed in a bullock's skin with the horns fastened to his forehead had robbed the house of a 'maiden lady'. The man was apprehended and sentenced to stand in the High Street pillory. Cameron sprang into action:

The day came, and the streets were teeming with crowds at an early hour in the morning, to get a sight of his horned majesty in affliction. I drew out the account of the apprehension and trial of 'Hairie's Counterfeit', and we hurried out to the streets, stating that the day of his punishment was that day fortnight.²⁵²

The pamphlet had been printed by Robert Menzies in the Lawnmarket. After six reams of the book had sold that night, printing continued for another three weeks. His success was not long lived, however, because

²⁵⁰ See J. Morris, 'Scottish Ballads and Chapbooks', in P. Isaac and B. McKay (eds), *Images and texts. Their production and distribution in the 18th and 19th centuries*, Winchester 1997, pp. 106–107.

²⁵¹ Harris, 'A few shillings for small books', pp. 93–94.

²⁵² Quoted in Morris, 'The Scottish chapman', pp. 178–179.

Cameron's rights as an author were minimal. Although he tried to reach agreements with printers about the exclusive use of his own work for a certain period, the printers could not resist the pressure of other hawkers and ballad singers in search of new stock. When Hawkie published the account of the 'Ancient King Crispin' for the 'Crispin' procession in Edinburgh, printed by Robert Menzies, criers soon found out who had produced the work and pressed Menzies to supply them.²⁵³

Although the legal loophole provided by authorship did not exist in the Netherlands, there are instances of pedlar-poets selling their own material, as the Amsterdam ballad singer Small John did in the 1720s. In his publications he advertised his work and also informed his readers where and when they could find him at the various markets in Amsterdam. The nineteenth-century pedlar Egbert Koning, from the north of Holland, also carried works of his own that included songs, chronicles and his autobiography.

To minimise their risks and to produce and distribute their wares as efficiently as possible, pedlars needed a network of authors, booksellers, colleagues and customers. The Scottish pedlar Magee had almost all of his works printed by T. Johnstone in Falkirk and C. Randall in Stirling.²⁵⁴ The most comfortable way of securing support was by means of formal organisations. Pedlars in Scotland could join branch societies at an impressively early date. Dougal Graham, for example, became a member of the Stirlingshire Society of Chapmen.²⁵⁵

With its guaranteed regular income, a fixed annual route with repeat customers had a market value. Egbert Koning bought one such route, including its regular customers, from an old tin seller and ran it until the end of his life. Because hawkers often covered long distances during these routes, they hoped to find regular and hospitable addresses where they could get free meals and a place to sleep. Not every bed came with home comforts, however. Cheap John described the questionable hospitality of a farmer's wife: 'The goodwife said, I should not ly within the house ... At last I was conducted out to the swine's sty, to sleep with an old sow and seven pigs! And there I lay for two nights.'²⁵⁶ In *The loss of the pack*, Alexander Wilson tells that he, too, had often to content himself with the pigsty, in exchange for which he would have to sing a song or play some music.²⁵⁷ A customer told him:

²⁵³ Ibid., p. 179.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 167.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 164.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 170.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 169.

No doubt you'll also be very hungry,
 I see you look starved;
 I have some porridge here to give you
 As soon as you have sung a song.
 Come, sing up with cheerful glee;
 You're supple, smart and young,
 And if you please my John and me,
 You'll get the porridge ladle
 To lick, today.²⁵⁸

Van 't Lindenhout offers interesting insight into how long a pedlar could journey before he had to restock. He travelled for five days in Gelderland, in the district of the Veluwe, with one bag of books and then returned home to stock up with new books.²⁵⁹ As he was on the road for a long time, it was essential he found cheap places to sleep and eat. He sometimes paid for food and shelter with a book, but he was also given hospitality simply out of friendship.²⁶⁰ Friendship and trust were indeed crucial in this unregulated trade. To save themselves from being robbed or even killed, pedlars sometimes left money with friends and collected it again on their way home.²⁶¹

In order to perform his profession well, a pedlar could not be just a salesman but had to become an entertainer as well. He pleased the audience by crying, acting, and joking and by singing and playing music. Magee was very aware of expectations and therefore learned to play two Jews harps at the same time.²⁶² This entertaining and diverting facet of the street trade, along with a wandering existence, sometimes overshadowed the pedlar's work of selling. Cheap John writes almost nothing about his printed wares and selling practices but focuses rather on his travelling adventures. An itinerant seller had to be news broker, storyteller, clown and merchant, all at the same time.

Although making a living was the principal motive for the activities of the great majority of street sellers, some pedlars claimed more ideological stimuli. The nineteenth-century Bible pedlar Johannes van 't Lindenhout saw his work as a consequence of his conversion.²⁶³ Kees Meijer, who became a street seller after a respectable career as a cook, hotelkeeper and

²⁵⁸ Quoted from Morris, 'The Scottish chapman', p. 169.

²⁵⁹ J. van 't Lindenhout, *Na vijf-en-twintig jaren: levensherinneringen*, Nijmegen 1888, p. 109.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

²⁶¹ Morris, 'The Scottish chapman', p. 172.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 169.

²⁶³ Van 't Lindenhout, *Na vijf-en-twintig jaren*, pp. 85–86.

alderman in Doorwerth, evinced similar considerations. Meijer considered his profession a calling, not a demotion, although his family did not appreciate this sacrifice.²⁶⁴ Meijer ended up in an Amsterdam lodging house in the Devil's Corner, a place often regarded as the Amsterdam equivalent of London's Grub Street.²⁶⁵

Van 't Lindenhout's reflections on his profession are all the more interesting because he regrets the decline of peddling due to the advent of modern transport such as the railway. He believed that because no pedlar was still willing to travel for days with a heavy pack, the most remote areas and villages were now deprived of cheap Bibles.²⁶⁶ He himself used carriages and canal boats. Although he admitted that the latter were not very fast, he was quite fond of this means of transport.²⁶⁷

Battling a Bad Reputation

We turn now to the self-crafted reputation of the pedlar. On the one hand, a pedlar might be repudiated as a swindler and cheat, but on the other hand, he might be praised as a preacher-poet. The former, and more frequent, characterisation was often the work of the regular book-sellers, who were their rivals; the latter was often a creation of the pedlars themselves.

Itinerants were well aware of the low standing of their profession and did much to try to escape from their often miserable existence. David Love's wife urged him to start a decent shop and settle down. The shop he established was founded entirely on credit stock from a grocer, a baker, a draper and a hatter, and soon, to his shame, he had to start hawking books and cheap print again to acquire capital. His business continued to decline, and he had to give up the shop entirely. The Dutch pedlar Egbert Koning started a grocery store as a first step on the social ladder and later became a farmer, but in spite of such attempts to lead a sedentary existence, in the long run peddling seemed to be his only stable source of income.

The image of the pedlar as a preacher and moral messenger was long established. In his study of Hieronymus Bosch, Eric de Bruyn argues that in sixteenth-century literature and paintings such as Bosch's *Pedlar*, the pedlar was already being used as a metaphor for the good that overcomes

²⁶⁴ Wijnman, 'De Amsterdamse liedjeszanger Kees Meijer', pp. 168–169.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 167–168. Meijer lived at Land van Beloftensteeg 12.

²⁶⁶ Van 't Lindenhout, *Na vijf-en-twintig jaren*, p. 110.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 127.

evil. Bosch portrayed the pedlar as a sinful man who repented and then turned to God.²⁶⁸ Looking back on their experiences, pedlars might use this traditional image of conversion to justify their behaviour or to give their life meaning. We know that in some cases their intentions were sincere. David Love, clearly a very pious man, published several collections of religious poetry including *A few remarks on the present times*. In his poem 'Redeem the time', he warns the reader not to reject God's holy words.

Some pedlars and ballad singers in the Netherlands placed themselves within the category of priest-apostle. Such was the case with the Amsterdam ballad singer Kees Meijer, although his family considered him a renegade and wanted to keep him at as great a distance as possible.²⁶⁹ The Bible pedlar Johannes van 't Lindenhout was very explicit about his religious intentions and saw his work in the streets as a God-given mission. He sincerely believed that spreading the word of God could not be done better than by selling Christian books and Bibles door to door.²⁷⁰ Being a clever businessman as well, Van 't Lindenhout was sensitive to denominational difference. In Gardenen, for instance, people did not want to buy the 'modern' Bibles of the British and other foreign Bible communities, and in Putten every household already had a Bible.²⁷¹ He knew that some people would not open their door to him because of his personal religious preferences (he was an adherent of Hendrick de Cock's secessionist movement). Although Van 't Lindenhout was known to be Protestant, he was referred to as the 'boekenjood', a Jew with books.²⁷² His intentions may have been religious, but he still had to combat the bad reputation of travelling pedlars. In Elburg he was arrested by the police because they considered him a member of a gang of thieves. He could only show his permit ['patent'] as proof of his innocence.²⁷³ Van 't Lindenhout also regarded his work as a crusade against bad literature. He was furious when he discovered that people near Beekbergen read 'poisoning novels' that they found on old paper in the paper factory. Not surprisingly, then, he refused to sell popular books such as *Tijl Uilenspiegel* and *Genoveva*.²⁷⁴

Van 't Lindenhout left his mark on history. In 1863, he and his wife, Hendrina Sipman, started a protestant orphanage in Nijmegen, and the

²⁶⁸ De Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*.

²⁶⁹ Wijnman, 'De Amsterdamse liedjeszanger Kees Meijer', p. 167.

²⁷⁰ Van 't Lindenhout, *Na vijf-en-twintig jaren*, pp. 85–86.

²⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 105–107.

²⁷² Ibid., p. 95.

²⁷³ Ibid., p. 108.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 102, 123.

orphan village Neerbosch, which he established three years later, still exists today. To provide a counterweight to the publication of cheap pulp literature, he set up a printing shop and started to produce and distribute Protestant periodicals and train young compositors and printers. This shop would prove quite successful for some thirty years.²⁷⁵

Distributor of Respectable Goods

In both Germany and the Netherlands in the eighteenth-century, enlightened writers and producers of children's literature had to confront the immensely popular genre that was traditional folk literature. German pedagogues Friedrich Eberhard von Rochow and Christian Gotthilf Salzmann spoke out against folk pictures and popular books such as almanacs and fairy tales, chiding these forms for their fantastic nature, their entertainment value and their lack of educational aims. They believed in the power of the narrative, but only if the stories were edifying in both literary quality and moral message. A plan was devised whereby such popular works could be replaced: books deemed sound from an educational point of view and with the same appearance as popular books for children would push questionable works out of the market. Such worthy works were distributed by pedlars, as in the case of Von Rochow's *Bauerfreund*.²⁷⁶ In the Netherlands, the *Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen* [Society for Common Benefit] also believed it was necessary to refine the range of popular folk books and folk images and convert them into sound children's books that would help elevate the lower ranks in society. This reworking can also be found in traditional genres such as almanacs, penny prints and folk stories.²⁷⁷ *Het vrolijke prentenboek voor kinderen* [The cheerful picture book for children] contains an illustration of a friendly pedlar and a brief accompanying verse that describes how he tries to dispose of his picture books and almanacs (see image 1.14).²⁷⁸

Pedlars and hawkers tried to generate goodwill with their customers through the distribution of printed New Year's wishes – for which, however,

²⁷⁵ Neerbosch is now known as 'Kinderdorp Neerbosch'. For the printing shop see M. Altena, 'Een drukkerij van Weeskinderen. Johannes van 't Lindenhout en de weeshuis-drukkerij 'Neerbosch' te Nijmegen (1870–1903)', *De boekenwereld* 13 (1996–97), pp. 49–53.

²⁷⁶ A. Völpel, *Der Literarisierungsprozess der Volksaufklärung des späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main 1996, pp. 90–91.

²⁷⁷ J. Salman, 'A German standard in Dutch children's literature (1750–1840)?', in J. Konst, I. Leemans and B. Noak (eds), *Niederländisch-deutsche Literaturbeziehungen 1600–1830*, Göttingen 2009, pp. 339–341.

²⁷⁸ *Het vrolijke prentenboek voor kinderen*, Amsterdam, G. Theod. Bom, 185X.



Fig. 1.14. A friendly pedlar on the title page of *Het vrolijke prentenboek voor kinderen*. [The cheerful picture book for children]. Amsterdam, G. Theod. Bom, c. 1850. The Hague, National Library: KW 1090 H 130.

the recipients were expected to pay. In the 1740s newsvendors ['Couranten-Ombrengers'] could have their names added to New Year's prints that they would then distribute in order to prompt an annual gratuity. Such items were printed by G. de Groot in Amsterdam but could be obtained by booksellers in Leiden, Haarlem, The Hague, Delft, Rotterdam, Dordrecht, Utrecht, Alkmaar, Hoorn and Gouda.²⁷⁹ Later, and certainly by around 1785, L. Huisingh (1758–1794), a bookseller in Groningen, published these New Year's wishes annually and with various titles.²⁸⁰ One of these works stated, 'Liefde voor het Vaderland. Tot een Nieuwjaarwensch van de

²⁷⁹ Advertisement in the *Leydsche courant* 1748, dd. 09-12-1748. I thank Hannie van Goinga for this reference.

²⁸⁰ For instance, *Het heil der liefde. Tot een nieuwjaarwensch van de bestellers der boeken, weekbladen, en andere tydsschriften, uit den boekwinkel van L. Huisingh*, 1785 (UB Amsterdam KVB PPA 622: 7); *De godsdienst het behoud van't vaderland. Tot een nieuwjaarwensch van de bestellers der boeken, weekbladen, en andere tijdschriften, uit de boekwinkel van L. Huisingh*, 1787 (UB Amsterdam KVB PPA 622: 7).

bestelders der boeketin, weekbladen, en andere tijdschriften, uit de boekwinkel van L. HUISINGH 1791' (For the love of my homecountry. As a New Year's wish of the deliverymen of books, weeklies and other magazines, from the bookshop of L. Huisingh 1791).²⁸¹

CONCLUSION: STEREOTYPES, MOTIVES AND CHANGE

Through this exploration of the various processes that established the image of the Dutch and English pedlar, it has become clear that a negative reputation was not the unequivocal lot of a pedlar in the early modern age. Different, and potentially contradictory, images circulated, produced by disparate parties with distinct motivations.

The regular book trade helped create the stereotype of the pedlar as an unfair competitor who contaminated trade in printed materials with the dissemination of illegal texts, but sedentary booksellers clearly did not wish to eliminate the activities of street vendors completely. Often the established trade acted ambiguously, outwardly rejecting what it actually tried to attract. The regular booksellers prolonged the negative image of peddling because emphasising the pedlars' low standing and irregular activities help prevent them from becoming a strong economic force, and thereby strengthened the hand of established booksellers when it came to negotiations over prices and conditions. Furthermore, street vendors distracted the authorities, censors, and the police from illegal practices that were initiated by established publishers and booksellers. Lastly, rumours, gossip, police actions, trials, and the protestations of the guilds fed the growing need for information about the supply of printed materials and proved to be one means of keeping potential customers informed.

In addition, local or provincial rules and loyalties helped shape interpretations of peddling in the Dutch Republic. Local vendors bought their wares in their own town and had less to fear than outsiders who had merchandise acquired elsewhere. Pedlars travelling from the city to the countryside were only tolerated by the provincial authorities if they were inhabitants of the province and had received a licence to sell from them.

The Dutch and English authorities' greatest fear about peddling was the dissemination of political and religious ideas through pamphlets, libels and periodicals. In contrast to the booksellers' guilds and Stationers' Company, they were less concerned about the competitive role of itinerants in book

²⁸¹ UB Amsterdam 077-1079.

retail. Indeed, they preferred hawking to begging and vagabondage and therefore sometimes supported street traders against the will of trade organisations. As a result, the authorities' reasons for suppressing street trade were different from those of the official booksellers, although the goal of both parties – to limit itinerant book trade – was generally the same. Nevertheless, because of their differing motives and interests, conflicts between booksellers and authorities were unavoidable.

From the 1660s onwards the Stationers' Company and the English authorities strived jointly for a form of legislation that would regulate the itinerant trade. To an extent the Licensing Act of 1697 made the itinerant trade more visible and easier to control, although there were still many attempts to evade its restrictions. The street trade in a city like London remained a legal morass. In the eighteenth century, few people seemed to have a clear sense of what was permitted and what was illegal. In the Dutch Republic, the 1660s similarly saw more legislation covering the activities of pedlars. In both countries, this increasing repression was motivated by mounting fear of the expanding political press and of those who distributed its product. The similarities can perhaps be explained by the short period in which the Dutch Republic and England were brought together in the person of the stadholder-king William III of Orange.

After the Licensing Act, the focus in England moved from political threats to economic offences. No central administrative tool like the Licensing Act existed in the Dutch Republic, where a shift towards economic concerns can be observed on a regional level in the second half of the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century, pedlars became part of the institutionalised book trade and the official booksellers had to rework their strategy of disparaging itinerant sale. 'Colportage' was permitted, but only according to criteria that booksellers had played a significant role in formulating.

The representation of the itinerant book trade in literature had two main characteristics. In one group of texts, pedlars and ballad singers were negatively associated with the evils of trivial literature, bad taste and the dangers of seditious and unreliable news. A second group of texts portrayed itinerants neutrally or positively and might include them in their narratives for commercial reasons, as means of distinguishing and advertising popular literature. Fictive and real pedlars and ballad singers informed potential buyers, in the service of authors, publishers and booksellers, about available printed matter, specific street sellers and points of sale. Especially from the eighteenth century onwards, in numerous Dutch texts both pedlars and their suppliers present the street trade as a confident

and autonomous segment of the literary marketplace. The literary pedlar acted as a cultural and commercial mediator.

Eighteenth-century pedlar literature also makes clear that fiction and reality were not so far apart. The portrayed or satirised competition between authors, editors and pedlars really existed. Their conflicts were based on actual situations, and the titles and publications mentioned in these fictions were also grounded in fact. It has also become apparent that there was a correlation between the networks of production and distribution of street literature, on one hand, and the sale of current news and commentary, on the other.

How image and legislation interacted remains an intriguing question. In England the *Cries of London* offered a view of ballad singers that is totally different from that revealed by archival and especially criminal sources. Tim Hitchcock has noted the distance between image and reality in Laroon's compositions and has suggested that William Hogarth's paintings and prints from the 1720s and 1730s were closer to the truth.²⁸² Through examination of the visual portrayal of pedlars with printed wares, several telling features have come to light. With the possible exception of some artists' sketches, most of the images were fashioned to satisfy generic or local market demand and were accompanied, on occasion, by an explicit interpretative or explanatory text. These artistic re-creations of selected situations within the Dutch and English world appear to have been based upon actual and cumulative experience. Rather than conveying some relatively homogenous shared beliefs, however, these images described the evidently familiar experience of engagement with pedlars and interpreted their subject in diverse ways through specific filters determined by class, social duty or the artistic goal of the work. Thus, the distinctive figures who emerge, and in particular the characteristic Netherlandish selection and depiction of types of pedlars, may well reveal attitudes towards this group of salesmen and women, attitudes that would have included acceptance of pedlars as a common sight in the countryside and on town squares, occasional irritation with vulgar or misleading behaviour, and practical recognition that it was better to encourage this class of people to work rather than see them beg and become a burden to society. Such a range of functions and associations is not so readily apparent in English portrayals of the same figures, which reflect a different set of concerns characteristic of English early modern society.

²⁸² Hitchcock, *Down and out*, p. 70.

Some visual representations helped to sustain or even create certain stereotypes, such as that of the Jewish hawker. In stylised portrayals of pedlars and especially in their description as 'Levi' or 'Leepe Levi', people were warned against traders characterised as shrewd. The words in these sources often add important information to otherwise neutral images; texts can have far greater bearing than might be thought at first glance.

English satires with pedlars and ballad singers from the period 1780–1800 did not have a counterpart in the Netherlands. In England the ballad singer or seller might serve to comment on British society as a whole, and on certain figures in particular. In the Netherlands, with the exception of Kaat Mossel ballad sellers were not portrayed as political commentators. Comparison also reinforces awareness that the Dutch market for representations of pedlars was larger and also socially more diverse. In England, while ballad sheets could have been seen and purchased by much of the population, the portrayals of pedlars in finer prints, illustrated books and paintings would all have fallen into the purview of wealthier upper-class clients. Consequently, there is a stronger sense of social segregation among the English sources.

The great variety of types of sellers in the Netherlands is also striking, whether they were local, city-based hawkers or pedlars who travelled greater distances to sell their goods. There is a lack of uniformity, which provides a contrast with the English situation. Are these great differences in the Dutch market for street literature confirmed by archival sources and the supply of cheap print? And does this mean that the itinerant book trade in the Netherlands was less transparent than the same trade in England? A more general question asks about the consequences of this heterogeneity. Was there more competition in the Dutch market for street literature and did this lead to greater variety and more attempts to find a niche market, or did the lack of control and organisation enable this market to become much more diverse? These questions will be dealt with in the conclusion to this study.

Autobiographical writings provide us with fascinating but not unequivocal insight into the way pedlars struggled against poverty and a poor reputation. Still, each author and compiler of texts had his own aims. Pedlars like Dougal Graham and Harmanus Koning exploited their lives and adventures by presenting their stories as picaresque novels. They knew the entertaining and commercial value of street literature and could use these publications as advertising material for their other lines of

business. The ego documents that resemble memoirs were often enriched with ideological and moral messages. And pedlars acting as authors, publishers and distributors became important intermediaries between high and low culture, between the city and the countryside and between the publishing industry and the ordinary reader.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PEDLAR IN THE ENGLISH DISTRIBUTION NETWORK

In this chapter the scale and structure of the English itinerant distribution network will be analysed. Although London, as the chief centre of book production in England will receive much attention, I will also give extensive consideration to provincial networks, focusing on the city of Exeter, in Devon, as a case study. Furthermore, the different types of itinerant booksellers will be highlighted in order to gain insight into their roles, functions and specialisations within the English distribution system.

THE SCALE OF ITINERANT DISTRIBUTION

In seventeenth-century London the printing industry was growing steadily. There were approximately twenty printing houses in London in 1604; by 1649 there were some forty. After the Restoration in 1660, the English book industry experienced growing demand and greater diversity. London had fifty-nine printing houses in 1661–1663, seventy by 1705, and eighty by 1723.¹ In the eighteenth century there was growing diversification of genres and of the literary market. According to James Raven there were more opportunities for ‘flamboyant book sellers and authors, the first library societies and commercial circulating libraries, literary reviewers, and finer distinctions between popular, polite, and elite forms of literature, their suppliers and consumers’.²

Although the importance of London as the main English production centre in the early modern period has been widely acknowledged, the provincial trade should not be ignored. John Barnard and Maureen Bell recently stated that the ‘country trade’ in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries must be considered an ‘important element of the English book trade’, for provincial booksellers, and also pedlars and schoolboys, had an

¹ Raven, *The business of books*, p. 47. McKenzie gives a much lower number of printing houses for 1668, namely, thirty-three. This confusion is perhaps caused by the number of presses used by these thirty-three printers. For 1668 McKenzie counted seventy-two presses. See D.F. McKenzie, ‘Printing and publishing 1557–1700: constraints on the London book trades’, in Barnard, McKenzie and Bell, *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, 4: 557.

² Raven, *The business of books*, pp. 47, 82–83.

'essential role in the expansion of the market for books and the creation of new readers and readerships'.³ It is important, however, to make a distinction between book production and book trade. Until the end of the seventeenth century, provincial book sellers were often dealing in books that had been produced in London or on the Continent. Even when the restrictions on where books could be produced were abandoned in 1695, with the lapse of the Printing Act, London remained dominant in the book trade. John Feather emphasised the significance of the eighteenth-century provincial trade, referring to it as 'an entity in its own right'.⁴ Feather's findings have stimulated research into local, regional and national networks of authors, publishers, booksellers and hawkers, with special attention paid to the rise of the provincial newspaper, which has been considered fundamental to the development of the regional distribution system.⁵

In the nineteenth century, primarily between 1800 and 1850, the English book trade changed significantly, not least because of the diminishing role of the Stationers' Company. These changes manifested themselves in matters of copyright, wholesale and retail prices of books and the development of a new and more effective internal structure to the trade.⁶ In order to get a sense of the differences between London and the provinces and to find out how production and itinerant distribution were connected in the period 1600–1850, I focus here on the national centre, London, and on a provincial centre, Exeter, and their respective hinterlands.

Organisation and Control

In the seventeenth century the printing and sale of books was controlled by the Stationers' Company and, at a higher level, by repressive actions taken by the government. The Star Chamber Decree of 1637, initiated by Archbishop Laud, was such an attempt, which, among other things, aimed to ban seditious books and pamphlets. Every single book had to be licensed and registered and had to bear the name of its printer. To become

³ J. Barnard and M. Bell, 'The English provinces', in Barnard, McKenzie and Bell, *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, 4: 686.

⁴ J. Feather, *The provincial book trade in eighteenth century England*, Cambridge 1985; J. Feather, 'The history of the English provincial book trade: a research agenda', in B. McKay, J. Hinks and M. Bell (eds), *Light on the book trade. Essays in honour of Peter Isaac*. New Castle, Del. 2004, p. 1.

⁵ Feather, 'The history of the English provincial book trade', pp. 1–7. See also C.Y. Ferdinand, 'Newspapers and the sale of books in the provinces', in Barnard, McKenzie and Bell, *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, 4:434–447.

a bookseller required an apprenticeship of at least seven years. The Stationers' Company also restricted the number of printers throughout the country and deployed a policy of active prosecution.⁷ When the Printing Act (also referred to as the Licensing Act or the Press Act) was renewed in 1662, the number of approved printing houses was limited to twenty-four, and each was allowed no more than three presses and three apprentices. The import of books from overseas was forbidden. Pre-publication censorship remained. After the Restoration the offices of surveyor and messenger of the press were used to extend and refine the system of policing. Especially between 1663 and 1680, when Roger L'Estrange was Surveyor of the Press, many printers and publishers faced arrest and seizures. Yet the licensing system still remained ineffective for only a small proportion of the total production was actually licensed.⁸ We should not overestimate the role of censorship. Press control in the seventeenth century is considered by many specialists to have been 'inconsistent, opportunistic and usually ineffective'.⁹ Furthermore, it had hardly effect on the economy of the book trade.¹⁰

Control of the publishing industry by the Stationers' Company was limited as well, especially when we take the book trade into consideration. By the 1662 Act, book trade, retail and import, was open to anyone who was licensed by the archbishop of Canterbury or the bishop of London. Also, the trade rights of the group of booksellers who sold their wares in Westminster Hall, especially pamphlets and papers to the members of Parliament, were guaranteed.¹¹ Outside London there was also a substantial market for illegal books. Since the sixteenth century, provincial booksellers had been supplied with illegal material by London publishers; one telling example is found in the itinerant distribution of catholic books.¹²

After the lapse of the Printing Act in 1695, control could only be performed by means of separate legislation. In 1723 the printing houses in the provinces numbered forty.¹³ They had started to produce their own

⁶ Feather, 'The history of the English provincial book trade', p. 7.

⁷ Treadwell, 'The stationers and the printing acts', 4: 759; C. Blagden, *The Stationers' Company. A History, 1403-1959*, London 1960, pp. 117-125; J. Raymond, *Pamphlets and pamphleteering in early modern Britain*, Cambridge 2003, pp. 66-71.

⁸ Treadwell, 'The stationers and the printing acts', 4: 765-766.

⁹ J. Barnard, 'Introduction', in Barnard, McKenzie and Bell, *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, 4: 3.

¹⁰ McKenzie, 'Printing and publishing 1557-1700', pp. 566-567.

¹¹ Treadwell, 'The stationers and the printing acts', 4: 760.

¹² J. Barnard and M. Bell, 'The English provinces', in Suarez and Turner, *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, 5: 679-681.

¹³ Raven, *The business of books*, p. 47; McKenzie 'Printing and publishing 1557-1700', p. 557.

material, and a wave of popular literature like pamphlets, newspapers and periodicals as well as chapbooks, broadsides and ballads flooded the market.¹⁴ Paula McDowell has described the English press in the last decades of the seventeenth century as the 'most uncontrolled in Europe'.¹⁵ Although new steps were taken to restrain the press, such as the libel law that prohibited 'blasphemous, obscene and seditious' libels, systematic control was not possible. And until 1716 the exact interpretation of the term 'seditious' was still a matter of debate.¹⁶

Itinerant Book Trade

It is almost impossible to estimate the number of pedlars active in seventeenth century England, let alone those who distributed printed wares. Reliable empirical evidence that would allow us to verify the scarce contemporary accounts is lacking. In 1681 the author of *Trade of England revived* talked of roughly ten thousand pedlars being active in England at that time, which seems a huge number when we contrast it with other evidence. An indirect indication of their presence is provided by a 1685 work that gave pedlars practical information about post roads, fairs and markets in England and Wales.¹⁷ It included a table of 'accounts' for the buying and selling of commodities by 'number, weight or measure'. The 'sun-dial and other tables' were useful for travellers and chapmen as well.¹⁸ Jewish pedlars had their own almanac, published in Hebrew.¹⁹

The best way to come to a well-argued estimate of the scale of itinerant trade in England is to look at administrative and juridical sources. At the end of the seventeenth century in particular, itinerants faced growing legislation. In the 1670s licenses had been granted to pedlars and petty chapmen travelling in England and Wales in order to distinguish them

¹⁴ R. Shoemaker, *The London mob. Violence and disorder in eighteenth-century England*, London 2004, p. 242.

¹⁵ McDowell, *The women of Grub Street*, p. 63.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

¹⁷ *The city and country chapmans almanack for the year our Lord 1685*, London, printed by Tho. James for the Company of Stationers. It continued to appear in the eighteenth century with slight changes in the title; see B. Capp, *English almanacs 1500–1800. Astrology and the popular press*, Ithaca 1979, p. 355. See several editions of his almanac in the British Library (BL London P.P. 2465).

¹⁸ *The English chapmans and travellers almanack for the year of Christ, 1696*, [...], London, printed by Tho. James for the Company of Stationers, 1695. BL P.P. 2465.

¹⁹ The first known edition is from 1692. In the nineteenth century they appeared almost completely in English; see Naggar, *Jewish pedlars and hawkers*, p. 56.

from vagabonds, rogues and strangers²⁰ with, in the 1670s and 1680s, an office in charge of handing out these licenses.²¹ The Act for Licensing Hawkers and Pedlars of 16 April 1697 was a landmark for itinerant traders in England. In that year the Licensing Board, known as the Hawkers and Pedlars' Office (HPO), was established. Licenses had to be renewed each year although, as we have seen in chapter 1, an exception was made for public papers describes as 'Acts of Parliament, Forms of Prayer, Proclamations, Gazettes, licensed Almanacks, or any other public papers licensed by authority',²² genres that had special royal printing rights.²³ This exception suggests that a large group of street sellers may not appear in the license records.²⁴

In order to get an idea of the character and impact of this Licensing Act, a description of the procedures is helpful. To obtain a license the signature of the clergyman of the parish and two respectable households was required. It was also necessary for the applicant to speak English.²⁵ The act made a distinction between hawkers on foot, who paid four pounds, and hawkers with a horse, who paid eight pounds. Pedlars also used this distinction, presenting themselves as either a specialised hawker with horse and cart, a hawker on foot or a hawker in the streets. Although they were not formally registered as pedlars with horses, foot pedlars used donkeys and dogs as draught animals.²⁶ It was prohibited to hawk in any corporation and everyone needed his or her own license.²⁷ The penalty for peddling without a license was a fine of fifty pounds, and for letting someone else use a personal license, forty pounds.²⁸ Pedlars sometimes linked their license to specific goods, but unfortunately for our research,

²⁰ McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, p. 40, dd. 16-07-1672; p. 13, dd. 28-05-1686.

²¹ It is unclear why in these laws only 'pedlars' and 'petty chapmen' are mentioned and not 'hawkers'. McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, dd. 22-03-1676; dd. 25-01-1686. See also dd. 03-05-1686.

²² McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, dd. 17-02-1693. 21 March 1696 the Commons engrossment included this exception. Ibid., dd. 21-03-1696.

²³ Treadwell, 'The stationers and the printing acts', 4726.

²⁴ Formulated as: 'Deficiency of this provision for Payment of the interest of the transport-debts, for the Reducing of Ireland, a Duty be laid upon all Hawkers and Pedlars' Bell'. McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, dd. 08-03-1697; Bell, 'Sturdy rogues and vagabonds', p. 90.

²⁵ Naggar, *Jewish pedlars and hawkers*, p. 127.

²⁶ After ca. 1846, however, dogs were not allowed as draught animals. The only options were barrows or replacing the dogs with donkeys; see Naggar, *Jewish pedlars and hawkers*, pp. 26–28.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 130.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 128.

they did so infrequently. In 1801, for example, a pedlar stated that he had a 'license for plate' (expensive cutlery).²⁹

External pressure occasionally increased as a result of further legislation by the authorities. In 1785 a bill was passed that doubled the tax levied on licensed pedlars: foot licences increased from four pounds to eight and horse licences from eight pounds to sixteen. This act and its repeal in 1789 generated much discussion and protest.³⁰ Proponents of the act pointed out the inequality that meant that regular shopkeepers were more burdened than itinerant traders. Its opponents stressed that hawkers and pedlars were poor and could not afford such a large sum of money.

Licenses not only represented economic value, but also provided hawkers with esteem and protection. English pedlars and hawkers self-consciously referred to the fact that they were 'a licensed hawker' in order to safeguard themselves from being seen as illegal traders.³¹ The authorities therefore demanded that they showed the words 'licensed hawker' clearly on their pack, trunk, case or box; failure to do so would result in a fine.³² Licensed pedlars who were confronted by the strong arm of the law had a stronger position than those who lacked a license.³³

Because a licence was expensive and had to be renewed every year, hawkers were tempted to perpetrate fraud. James Erskins, who tried to change '1763' on his license into '1764', had to pay a fine of twelve pounds. Furthermore, 'the Character of the offender [was] made known, to prevent any future Imposition by him upon the Publick'. Erskins' crime was considered 'highly detrimental for the Fair Trader'.³⁴ The Jewish pedlar Wolf Russia was fined ten pounds in 1822 and sent to Bridewell because he traded without a license in Withycombe Raleigh near Exmouth.³⁵ It is no surprise that owners of a much-sought-after license had to protect themselves against theft and robbery, especially when they were travelling alone.³⁶

²⁹ Old Bailey Proceedings (www.oldbaileyonline.org), Ref: t18010415-143, 15-04-1801.

³⁰ *Gentleman's magazine* 55 (1785), pp. 91, 863, 867, 886, 895, 1013, 1014. See for the discussion in the counties of Devon and Cornwall: *Exeter Flying Postman*, dd. 30-04-1789.

³¹ E.g. Old Bailey Proceedings (www.oldbaileyonline.org), Ref: t18000219-10, dd. 19-02-1800.

³² Naggar, *Jewish pedlars and hawkers*, p. 130.

³³ Old Bailey Proceedings, Ref: t18230409-66, 09-04-1823.

³⁴ *Exeter Flying Postman*, dd. 22-02-1765.

³⁵ DRO, QS Box 385, dd. 07-12-1822. I would like to thank Gillian Selly for this reference.

³⁶ Old Bailey Proceedings, Ref: t18230409-66, 09-04-1823.

The HPO was a professional organisation. It was run by three commissioners, who earned 100 pounds each per year, a general riding surveyor (200 pounds per year) and five other riding surveyors with horses, who covering the area outside London (100 pounds per year). By 1741 there were nine of these riding surveyors and in 1770 there were ten, an expansion that is indicative of the growing importance of itinerant trade in the country.³⁷ There were also special London Surveyors (50 pounds per year), four clerks and a messenger (30 pounds per year). It was crucial to find a good medium for informing the pedlars about their duties and rights. In addition to advertisements in regional newspapers, printed handbills or posters were also 'ported up in the several cities and towns in the district' with information about obtaining a licence.³⁸ In 1832 a circular to the distributors of licences for hawkers and pedlars ordered them to advertise their location in the regional newspapers.³⁹ A poster from July 1859 issued by the Office for Inland Revenue warns hawkers and pedlars that they should obtain or renew their licence before 31 July 1859⁴⁰ (see fig. 2.1).

The licensing act thus acknowledged and formalised the role of pedlars in the distribution system. The government in fact sanctioned an already existing practice, creating in the process a profitable source of revenue. The long history of this act shows it was seen as a great success. In 1810 the HPO amalgamated with the Hackney Coaches Board. In 1870 licenses were abolished and replaced by certificates (spoken of as 'licenses') handed out by police stations. Hawkers with a horse were treated differently: they had to obtain their license as had become customary until 1966.⁴¹

Number of Pedlar Licenses

Information about the number of licenses and the distribution of pedlars over the country can be found in the yearly accounts of the HPO for the Treasury. In the first year of the act, 1697–1698, about 2,880 pedlars were licensed (see table 2.1).⁴² Margaret Spufford analysed the distribution of hawkers and pedlars over the country in the 1690s. Although

³⁷ Naggar, *Jewish pedlars and hawkers*, pp. 125–127.

³⁸ NA Kew, IR 51/7, Circular to distributors (dd. 02-07-1832), in *Entry book of deputations to distributors of stamps and others to issue and inspect hawkers' and pedlars' licences, 1832–1860*.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ NA Kew, IR 78/ 467, *Caution to all hawkers, pedlars and petty chapmen that they should renew their licences by 31 July* (poster), 1859.

⁴¹ Naggar, *Jewish pedlars and hawkers*, pp. 124–125.

⁴² This number differs from the 2,500 Spufford cites in her *Small books*, p. 116.

No. 55.

Hawkers and Pedlars.

V.  R.

Office for Inland Revenue, Somerset House, London.

CAUTION

TO ALL

Hawkers, Pedlars, Petty Chapmen,

“and every other Trading Person and Persons going from Town to Town or to other Men’s Houses, and Travelling either on Foot, or with Horse, Horses, or otherwise, in England, Wales, or the Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, carrying to sell or exposing to sale, any Goods, Wares, or Merchandize;”

And also to all Itinerant Persons Trading under the false pretence of being the real Workers or Makers of the Goods they carry for Sale, or of being the Agents or Servants of the real Workers or Makers; And to all Persons who may have been in the habit of going from Place to Place, opening a Room or Shop, not being *bona fide* Householders in any such Place, or the same not being the usual Place of their Abode; And likewise to all Persons whatsoever, who shall or may be amenable to the Laws relating to Hawkers and Pedlars.

Her Majesty’s Commissioners of Inland Revenue desire to call the attention of all Persons Licensed as Hawkers to the circumstance, that their Licences terminate on the 31st July instant, and should be immediately renewed, and

Do Hereby Give this Public Notice,
that the utmost vigilance will be used to detect and punish all Persons found Trading without Licences.

By Order of the Commissioners,
THOMAS KEOGH,
Secretary.

July, 1859.

N.B.—By the Act of the 50th Geo. III, Cap. 41, “Every Licensed Hawker is required to have his Name and Number of his Licence, together with the words ‘Licensed Hawker,’ written, painted, or printed in large legible ROMAN CAPITALS upon the most conspicuous part of every Room and Shop in which he shall Trade with or under colour of any such Licence. And also upon every Pack, Box, Bag, Trunk, Case, Cart, Wagon, or any Vehicle in which he shall carry his Goods, under a penalty of TEN POUNDS. And any Person not being Licensed, using such words, &c., or trading in any manner without a Licence, or not having his Licence about him ready to produce, before TEN POUNDS for each Offence. The liberty to sell in Markets and Fairs without a Licence is “or Fairs, or Cities, Burroughs, Towns Corporate, or Market Towns (but not in Villages or elsewhere) except but Goods, Wares, and Merchandize of Great Britain, of their own working or making, and to their Children, Apprentices, or Servants usually residing with such real Workers or Makers only. No Hawker or other Trading Person going from Town to Town, &c., is to sell his Goods through any means or device by Auction in any Place, he not being a Householdier there, or the same not being an usual Place of his Abode, under a Penalty of FIVE POUNDS for every such Offence, and any Person being, selling, or dealing a Licence, or Trading with a kind of increased Licence, forfeits FORTY POUNDS.”

Any Person or Persons who shall be found Trading without a Licence, or who being found Trading, shall refuse or neglect to produce to such Person or Persons a Licence according to the Act, after being requested to do so, for a reasonable time, in order to give notice to a Constable, Headborough, or other Peace Officer or Officer, who are by the Act required, under a Penalty of TEN POUNDS, to carry such Person or Persons before some one of Her Majesty’s Justices of the Peace of the County or Place where the Offence shall be committed, so he by him dealt with according to Law.”

Licences may be obtained at the Office for Inland Revenue, Somerset House, London, or from any Distributor of Stamps in any City or Town in England or Wales.

Fig. 2.1. Poster issued by the Office for Inland Revenue warning hawkers and pedlars to obtain or renew their licences before 31 July 1859. Kew, National Archives, IR 78/ 467.

the largest concentration was found in London, many could be found all over England, even in the most remote areas. Because of their importance as distributors of linen and other textiles, large groups of pedlars lived in places of textile manufacturing like the West Riding, Lancashire and

the Cotswolds; they could also be found in the West Midlands' metal working area. Half of those licensed were based in market towns, where they probably also worked as stallholders,⁴³ an argument that is supported, especially where printed wares were concerned, by market records from the 1670s onwards, which list several chapmen and booksellers.⁴⁴ Within the large group of licensed chapmen, some specialised in books and ballads. Spufford gives only a few examples for the period 1690 to 1890.⁴⁵

The years after 1697 showed a sharp decrease in licenses, probably because after the first year registration was carried out less conscientiously and pedlars more often tried to escape this expensive obligation. From 1703 onwards, the number went up again, until the end of the eighteenth century, when a new low point was reached. We have to take into account, however, that many pedlars continued to trade without a license and that others shared licenses, which caused the actual number of pedlars to be underestimated. Raven has stated that license numbers may have been only a fraction of the total number 'of petty sellers of chapbooks, ballads, and cheap print'.⁴⁶ And we must also take into account the exemptions for street sellers who sold 'public papers'. What is more, hawkers were still permitted to hawk in their own district without a license, which they required only when they started to trade in another locale. Interpretation of this rule for London was not always simple. When a pedlar moved to another district within London, this was seen as moving out of the city and required a license.⁴⁷ Throughout the eighteenth century pedlars tried to use this confusion to their own benefit, although not always successfully. In the 1760s the licensed pedlar and housekeeper John Stiles ended up in Bridewell for three months' hard labour because he had traded illicitly in London.⁴⁸ The number of street traders who chose to stay within the jurisdiction of London increased in the eighteenth century.

Now and then we find outside the HPO administration information about pedlars who sold printed wares, although here too we must recognise that our figures are likely an underestimation. A list of certificates of bankruptcy for the year 1745/1746 recorded for one of the Commissioners

⁴³ Spufford, *Small books*, p. 120.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 120–125.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Raven, *The business of books*, p. 96.

⁴⁷ Naggar, *Jewish pedlars and hawkers*, pp. 129–130.

⁴⁸ *Gentleman's Magazine* 37 (1767), pp. 329–330.

for Bankruptcy lists 131 printers, publishers, booksellers and chapmen who filed. With some 466 printers-booksellers and at least 42 itinerant booksellers counted in the whole of England and Wales, this figure suggests that more than 25 percent did not succeed in maintaining their activities.⁴⁹

It is indeed hard to get an indication of the scale of the itinerant trade from HPO numbers, let alone the scale of the itinerant book trade. Reacting in 1785 to a new bill relating to pedlars and hawkers, Parliamentarians referred to more than 7,500 itinerants who would be deprived of the 'means of getting a livelihood by the business to which they were bred'.⁵⁰ That figure is much greater than the number of licenses that were given out in the 1770s and is surely inflated even if we take exemptions into account, although this may be a politically motivated exaggeration. For other years we observe significantly lower figures. In 1797 the *Tenth report from the select committee on Finance etc. Hawkers and Pedlars*, which covered the period June 1796–June 1797, stated that no more than 1,540 pedlars were registered.⁵¹

A remarkable increase to 8,850 by 1827 was probably not due to a dramatic rise in the number of pedlars, but rather had something to do with administrative changes. It may be that the linking of the HPO with the Hackney Coaches Board in 1810 made the organisation more efficient. Still, it shows that itinerant trade was not slowing down in the nineteenth century. As Betty Naggarr has observed, pedlars did not disappear when the railway arrived in England after 1830; in response, urban pedlars extended their range into the countryside.⁵²

In the nineteenth century we also see a steady increase in the number of horse licenses, indicating a higher standard of living for the pedlars. The real fall in the itinerant trade occurred after 1850. The period 1882–91 shows a sharp decline in the number of licenses, by 35 percent. Several reasons for this drop are possible. Pedlars and hawkers may have been replaced by shops or have moved out of London, or the sale of small wares

⁴⁹ C.Y. Ferdinand, 'The economics of the eighteenth-century provincial book trade: the case of Ward and Chandler', in M. Bell et al. (eds), *Re-constructing the book. Literary texts in transmission*, Burlington 2001, pp. 50–51.

⁵⁰ *Gentleman's magazine* 55 (1785), p. 1013. It refers to a bill that was discussed in Parliament about the increase of the fees for licences, see p. 967.

⁵¹ Guildhall Library London (Store 1497–1499): 'Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, Select committee on Finance: *Tenth report from the select committee on Finance etc. Hawkers and Pedlars* (London) 1797, p. 9: Appendix. *Hawkers and Pedlars Office*.

⁵² Naggarr, *Jewish pedlars and hawkers*, p. 48.

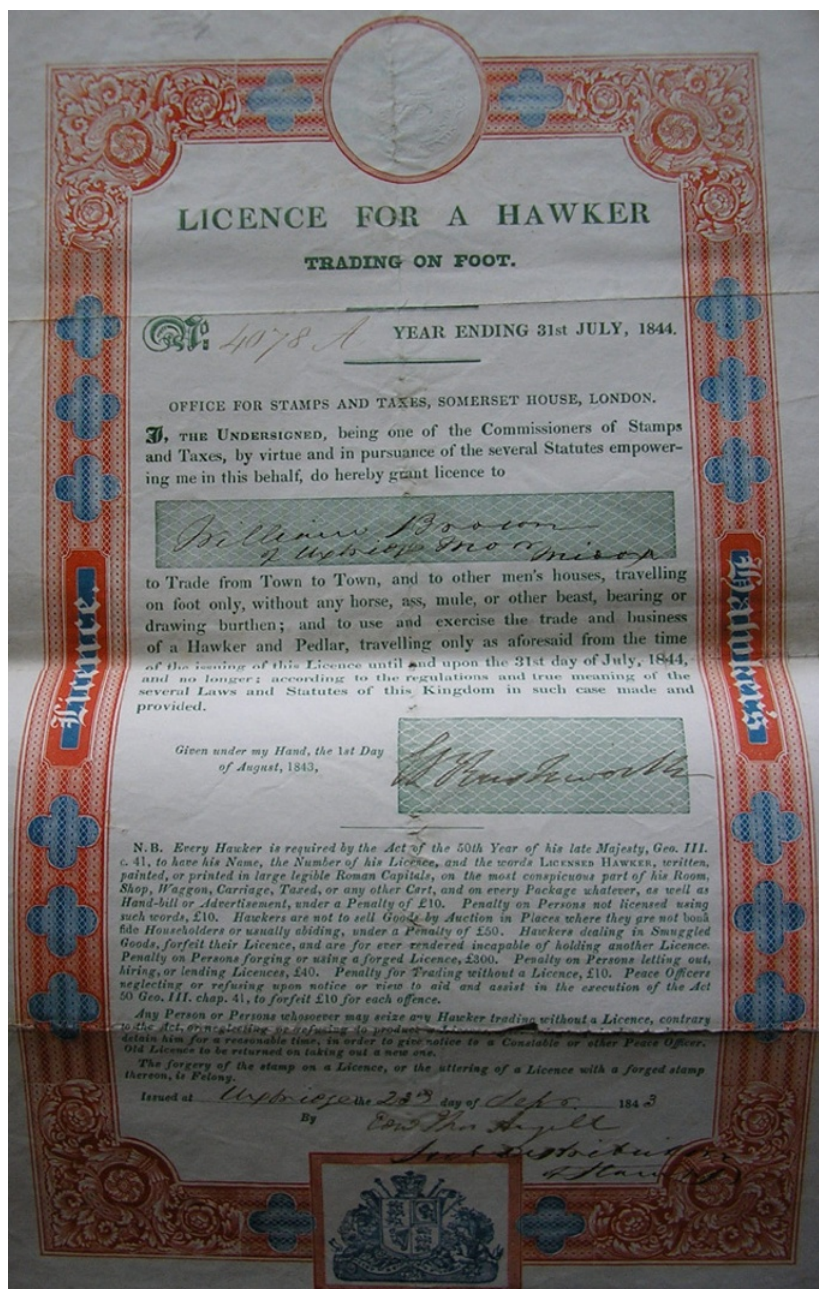


Fig. 2.2. A foot licence for a pedlar, 1844. London, Metropolitan Archive: O/533/001.

Table 2.1 Licensed pedlars and hawkers and administrators in England, 1697–1837.

	Foot licences (£4)	Horse licences (£8)	All licences	Commis- sioners	Riding Surveyors	London Surveyors	Entry no. and other references
1697/1698			2,880				AO 3/370
24 June 1700– 24 June 1701	1,411	147	1,558	3			E/351/1726
24 June 1701– 24 June 1702	1,454	155	1,609				E/351/1727
24 June 1703– 24 June 1704	1,749	158	1,907	3	6	2	E 351/1729
24 June 1704– 24 June 1705	2,212	207	2,419	3	5	2	E/351/1730
24 June 1708– 24 June 1709	2,343	160	2,503				E/351/1734
24 June 1712– 24 June 1713	1,952	168	2,120	4	6	3	E 351/1738
24 June 1714– 24 June 1715	1,707	137	1,844	3	4	3	E/351/1740
5 July 1770– 5 July 1771	1,308	370	1,678	4	10	4	AO 1/1435/70
1797			1,540				Guildhall library, Store 1497–1499
5 July 1800– 5 July 1801	951	575 (2 with 3 horses and 29 with 2 horses)	1,526				AO 1/1440/100
January 1827/ January 1828	7,922	928	8,850				AO 1/1353/134
1837			8,420				Naggar 1992, pp. 125–126

Sources: NA Kew, Register of licences granted for a year from 24 June 1697 to Hawkers & Pedlars (1697–1698); Hackney and stage coaches and chairs, also hawkers, pedlars, and petty chapmen; Hawkers, Pedlars, and petty chapmen: duties arising by licenses; Tenth report from the select committee on Finance etc. Hawkers and Pedlars (London) 1797; Naggar 1992.

may no longer have been profitable, or the police may have been stricter about checking credibility before handing out a license.⁵³

For more accurate insight into the scale of the itinerant trade, we need an indication of the number of people who traded without a license. There is much evidence to suggest that this abuse occurred from the time the act came into force, including a printed form to record abuses such as trading without a license that was already in use in the 1730s.⁵⁴ The use of local and regional newspapers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to inform, warn and control itinerant traders suggests that the license system needed constant attention.⁵⁵ As a deterrent, newspapers published the names of pedlars who were convicted of hawking without a license.⁵⁶

According to the *Exeter Flying Postman* of 1781, pedlars in the counties of Devon, Somerset, Dorset and Cornwall were threatened with a penalty if they were caught trading without a license.⁵⁷ Printed cautions that advertised the need for licences were distributed in 'market towns and considerable villages of the Kingdom' with similar messages. The HPO used the *Exeter Flying Postman* to announce the appointment of new inspectors and to instruct pedlars how and where they could get a licence in the county of Devon, including the temporary addresses of the riding surveyors of the HPO. On 25 June 1781, Robert Bint was present as a riding surveyor at the Bridgewater Fair. Licences could be collected from Mr Russell at the London Inn, Exeter, and from Mr Natin, a jeweller on the bridge in Bristol.⁵⁸ On 8 August 1799, the riding surveyor Mr Bint was available in Mount Edgumbe, Plymouth, and Mr William Tallack was in St. Austell, Cornwall.⁵⁹ Old licences could be returned to Mr Hawkins in Kingsbridge, to the grocery store of Mrs Newman and Co in Exeter, and in Plymouth.⁶⁰ A more precise figure for traders without a license dates from 1858. In that year no more than a fifth of the hawkers in whole

⁵³ Ibid., pp. 123–124.

⁵⁴ DRO, Exeter Archive, *Sworn informations at the sessions of the peace 1702–1769*, no. 413, dd. 05-03-1730. It concerns the hawker John Humphreys, who sold 'Chinae'.

⁵⁵ In 1810 a message from the Hawker's office in Somerset was published in the *Exeter Flying Postman* to inform hawkers, pedlars and petty chapmen that their licence remained in force until 1 September instead of 31 July. *Exeter Flying Postman*, dd. 26-07-1810.

⁵⁶ K. Chandler, *More Gypsies hawkers and other travellers in the English South Midlands and including East Anglia, The Home Counties and the South East. A further anthology of references from local newspapers 1759–1923*, Oxford 2007, p. 15, dd. 08-05-1851.

⁵⁷ *Exeter Flying Postman*, dd. 15-06-1781.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ *Exeter Flying Postman*, dd. 04-08-1796; 08-08-1799.

⁶⁰ *Exeter Flying Postman*, e.g. dd. 08-08-1799; 28-07-1814; 30-07-1818; 02-08-1827 and 31-06-1828.

England had a hawker's license.⁶¹ A calculation based on the number of registered peddlars for the period 1825–1849 suggests a total of 43,175 peddlars, licensed and unlicensed.

Peddlars and Hawkers with Printed Wares

Our only means of determining the number of peddlars with printed wares is to compare the figures for licensed peddlars in general with the more specific data of the British Book Trade Index (BBTI). The BBTI is an electronic database containing the names, brief biographical details and trade details of people who worked in the book trade in England and Wales up to 1851.⁶² We must, however, bear a number of serious methodological problems in mind as we work with this database. Most problematic is that the database is certainly not complete, especially where marginal traders such as peddlars are concerned, and therefore the figures it contains are indicative rather than absolute. Furthermore, as it is not uncommon for the same individual to be entered more than one time, it is necessary to check, and then conflate, a large number of duplicate records. Additionally, cross references take the form of additional records. This duplication of records and inclusion of cross references led John Hinks and Maureen Bell, two of the database's authors, to state, 'These two factors render it impossible to use the BBTI for straightforward record counting.'⁶³ If the necessary corrections are undertaken, however, they claim that at least for the regular booksellers, their calculations are valid. Their figures suggest for period 1700–1849 a growth in the book trade that is in line with population data, with booksellers more numerous than printers until 1800–1824, but this trend then reversed.⁶⁴ As Hinks and Bell record, 'The results of this study broadly confirm the established view that, in the eighteenth century, the mainstream provincial book trades developed steadily, with printing in particular becoming increasingly important as the century progressed.'⁶⁵ When we look at the national figures we see that, in general, printers started to outnumber booksellers not earlier than 1800 and were dominant after 1825 (see tables 2.2 and 2.3).

⁶¹ Naggar, *Jewish peddlars and hawkers*, p. 127. These figures are based on the nineteenth-century records of the Office of Hawkers and Peddlars.

⁶² See <http://www.bbti.bham.ac.uk/>.

⁶³ J. Hinks and M. Bell, 'The book trade in English provincial towns 1700–1849. An evaluation of evidence from the British Book Trade Index', in *Publishing history* 57 (2005), p. 58.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 59–60.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

Table 2.2 Printers and booksellers in England and Wales, 1700–1849.

	1700–1724	1725–1749	1750–1774	1775–1799	1800–1824	1825–1849
Printers	123	159	301	668	1306	2362
Booksellers/ stationers	238	307	436	825	1175	2178
Population	317,924	388,834	522,657	786,432	1,532,067	2,268,116
Printers per 1000 population	0.39	0.40	0.57	0.85	0.86	1.04
Booksellers per 1000 population	0.75	0.78	0.83	1.05	0.77	0.96

Source: Hinks and Bell, 'The book trade in English provincial towns, 1700–1849'.

Table 2.3 Book trade participation in England and Wales, 1700–1849

	1700–1724	1725–1749	1750–1774	1775–1799	1800–1824	1825–1849
Printer/ Bookseller/ Stationer	360	466	737	1,493	2,481	4,505
Printer/ Bookseller/ Stationer per 1000 population	1.13	1.2	1.41	1.9	1.63	1.99

Source: Hinks and Bell, 'The book trade in English provincial towns, 1700–1849'.

We only have reliable figures for the broader English book trade for the period after 1700, but I have been able to calculate the number of chapmen (hawkers and pedlars), with duplication and cross-references taken into account, as a proportion of the number of printers for every twenty-five years (table 2.4). Included in this calculation are numbers for licensed pedlars taken from the records of the Office of Pedlars and Hawkers in London. According to the BBTI the absolute number of hawkers and pedlars selling printed matter was steadily growing in the period 1701–1850, from 32 to 146. The BBTI data allows us to state that at least one fifth of all licensed

Table 2.4 Itinerant booksellers in England and Wales, 1700–1849.

	1700–1724	1725–1749	1750–1774	1775–1799	1800–1824	1825–1849
Chapmen with printed wares (BBTI)	32	34	57	66	60	146
Hawkers with printed wares (BBTI)	4	5	4	8	36	137
Pedlars with printed wares (BBTI)	2	3	3	2	6	0
Population (Hinks and Bell 2005)	317,924	388,834	522,657	786,432	1,532,067	2,268,116
Chapmen with printed wares per 1000 population	0.10	0.09	0.11	0.08	0.04	0.06
Hawkers/pedlars with printed wares per 1000 population	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.06

Sources: Hinks and Bell, 'The book trade in English provincial towns, 1700–1849'; BBTI website, accessed 7 May 2010, duplicates and cross-references corrected.

hawkers were selling printed matter in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Several studies covering Europe more broadly suggest that peddling in general seemed to have reached its zenith in the eighteenth century, paralleling growth in consumerism. Harald Deceulaer has argued that 'the growth in consumption in many countries, at least in England, France and the Southern Netherlands, went hand in hand with an enormous growth in fraud, smuggling and peddling'.⁶⁶ In his groundbreaking monograph *The Industrious Revolution*, Jan de Vries observed a major shift in the period 1650–1750 from, 'markets, fairs and direct, guild-controlled artisanal sales towards retail shops and pedlars'. The increase in small retail outlets was accompanied by a growing number of pedlars. Shops selling a variety of commodities spread beyond the market towns, and pedlars complemented these shops by selling other goods. This new retail network guaranteed a much larger supply of consumer goods than had the old market system.⁶⁷

For England the most significant growth in peddling with printed matter occurred around the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the

⁶⁶ Deceulaer, 'Dealing with diversity', p. 171.

⁶⁷ Vries, *The industrious revolution*, p. 169.

eighteenth centuries. In the course of the eighteenth century, however, itinerant trade seemed to lose ground. For the whole period 1600–1700 the BBTI gives a (corrected) number of 501 chapmen, but in the period 1701–1800 this figure declined to 192.

When we compare the number of itinerant booksellers with the growing population in the nineteenth century we see a further decrease. The implication of this pattern could be that the regular bookshop was gaining ground, but a significant argument speaks against this interpretation. As stated above, in 1858 only one fifth of all hawkers had an official license. If 20 percent of a total 43,175 pedlars were selling printed matter, it would appear there were roughly 8.635 book pedlars. Some 4,505 printers and booksellers are noted in the BBTI for this period, but we can state that there were at least twice this number of book pedlars and even this figure is almost certainly an underestimate.

Other evidence also makes a reduction in itinerant book trade in the nineteenth century seem unlikely. The uses to which newspapers were put both for and by pedlars is evidence of the omnipresence of itinerant trade in England. These messages range from announcements of sales by pedlars in Exeter to messages about petitions against pedlars and lists of itinerants who went bankrupt.⁶⁸ Furthermore, around 1850 many hawkers started their own commercial organisations. Sheila Haines has counted twenty-five to thirty book-hawking associations in the period 1855–1888 in England.⁶⁹ Although such associations are a sign of self-consciousness and an indication of acceptance and institutionalisation, they did not bring to an end the persistent expressions of distrust and repudiation directed at pedlars. Such resistance was encountered by the merchant Samuel Smiles when he wanted to start a book-hawking society in Cumbria. His opponents argued that ‘a rural population is better off without education and information’. In spite of such objections, the society did come into being and in 1858 had already sold 636 bibles and 1598 other books.⁷⁰ In London street sellers also created their own ‘Street-sellers’ Society’, around 1850, to provide against sickness and other misfortunes. Many of the members sold paper wares such as ballads.⁷¹

⁶⁸ *Exeter Flying Postman*, dd. 26-07-1810.

⁶⁹ S. Haines, ‘A good read. East Sussex bookhawking Association, 1855–1888’, *Sussex archaeological collections* 124 (1986), pp. 227–241.

⁷⁰ See Samuel Smiles, *George Moore merchant and philanthropist* (London 1878), cited in ‘Notes and queries’, *Quadrat* 20 (Summer 2007), p. 31.

⁷¹ The subscription was two pence a week and meetings were weekly, see Mayhew, *London labour and the London poor*, 1: 242.

Itinerant Booksellers in London

According to Raven, the number of occasional and itinerant booksellers in the city of London is almost impossible to establish.⁷² Still we do have some fragmented information that permits us some insight into this issue. In the anonymous pamphlet *The downfall of temporizing poets*, from 1641, the number of pedlars, hawkers, ballad singers and mercury women involved in printed matter was estimated at 317.⁷³ In the seventeenth century these mercury women mainly worked out of fixed locations in the city. In the eighteenth century, they became the primary distributors of newspapers and pamphlets.⁷⁴ In 1664 Richard Atkyns stated in a pamphlet that there were at least six hundred booksellers with shops in and near London and two or three thousand more who were free of the Stationers' Company, including itinerants.⁷⁵ Furthermore a list of forty-four approved hawkers selling 'mercuries' in London in 1668 has been preserved, although a list including unofficial hawkers would have been much longer.⁷⁶ In 1684 the Stationers' Company again complained about the great number of hawkers selling books in the streets of London, but it did not give an exact number.⁷⁷

Bookstalls on one fixed place must also be taken into account, although their scale remains equally blurred. In 1686 Randall Taylor, beadle of the Stationers' Company, prepared a list of all who kept stalls for selling books in the city, but unfortunately it is not known how many stalls were on the list and if anything happened as a result of their listing.⁷⁸ About 1700 London had sixty-two printers and 188 bookshops, and 'numerous bookstalls'.⁷⁹

According to the Licensing Act about one fifth, that is five hundred, of all licensed pedlars and hawkers from June 1697 until June 1698 gave London as their place of residence, although this group was composed of pedlars and hawkers selling all kinds of wares outside London.⁸⁰ Spufford suggests that one fifth of these pedlars could be found south of the river Thames (Southwark and Newington Butts) and were involved in trade in

⁷² Raven, *The business of books*, p. 85.

⁷³ Spufford, *Small books and pleasant histories*, p. 118.

⁷⁴ This distinction is made by Michael Harris. I would like to thank him for sharing his great knowledge of London street sellers.

⁷⁵ Richard Atkyns, *The original and growth of printing*: [...], 1664. This source is mentioned in McKenzie, *The London book trade*, p. 26.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Shoemaker, *The London mob*, p. 242.

⁸⁰ Spufford, *Small books*, p. 118.

books and prints. She assumes that they worked on the southern roads to Rye and Dover, buying chapbooks from publishers like Thomas Passinger and Josiah Blare on the London Bridge. The hawkers who lived in Holborn and the Strand area probably stocked up around Smithfield Market and, we can assume, travelled in a north-westerly direction, towards Chester and Ireland. The publishers of chapbooks and ballads advertised their wares with an eye to these itinerants.⁸¹

For an indication of the number of London street sellers in the nineteenth century we can turn to calculations made by the contemporary journalist Henry Mayhew in his *London labour and the London poor*. Mayhew counted 1,110 street sellers selling stationary, literature and the fine arts around 1850. When we focus on street sellers with printed wares we find a substantial number, 920 (see table 2.5).⁸² Yet the figures extracted

Table 2.5 Street sellers with printed wares in London, c. 1850.

Street seller, by wares or type	Number
Almanacs and memorandum books	50
Cards (engraved, playing cards)	31
Secret papers	6
Songs and ballads	250
Running patterers	90
Standing patterers	20
'Cocks' (accounts of elopements)	8
Playbills and playbooks	200
Conundrums (riddles)	15
Back numbers (of periodicals)	40
Tracts and pamphlets	40
Newsvendors at steamboat piers	12
Book auctioneers	2
Bookstall keepers and book barrowmen	70
Guidebooks or catalogues (for exhibitions)	16
Songbooks and children books	30
Dealers in pictures in frames	40
Total	920

Source: Mayhew, *London labour and the London poor*, 1: 306.

⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 111–115, 119–120.

⁸² Street sellers that sell other material are those that sell stationary (120), pocket books and diaries (20), account books (12), wastepaper (4), engravings in umbrellas (30) and manuscript music (4), see Mayhew, *London labour and the London poor*, 1: 306.

from the BBTI suggested that there were 146 chapmen for the whole country in the period 1825 and 1849. Mayhew's observations are noticeable for the great diversity among street sellers and the high degree of specialisation, which we have not encountered in earlier centuries.

Itinerant Book Trade in the Provinces: Devon and Exeter

What is challenging for London, is even more difficult for the provinces. Indirect evidence is needed if we are to get an idea of the itinerant distribution network in the provinces. The town of Exeter and the county of Devon are taken here as examples. Illiteracy stifled the potential market. In 1641 only 30 percent of the male population of Devon had the ability to sign their own name on a protestation of loyalty to Parliament, which may indicate that of a population of about 35,000 families fewer than ten thousand families might have purchased literature.⁸³ Household inventories show that people often possessed only a bible and a prayer book. In the eighteenth century, however, literacy rates rose. In the second half of the century about two thirds of the men and about one third of the women who were entered in the marriage registers could sign, which together with the increase in the number of families – to about 75,000 in 1801 – suggests a large increase in potential sales.⁸⁴ In 1785 there were at least twelve printers across six towns: Exeter, Plymouth, Plymouth Dock, Honiton, Totnes and Newton Abbot. By the end of the century six more towns could be added to this list: Barnstaple, Dartmouth, Great Torrington, South Molton, Tavistock and Tiverton.⁸⁵

The activities of the Exeter bookseller Michael Harte attest that in the early seventeenth century Exeter had a small but well-organized book trade.⁸⁶ In 1697 there were at least three booksellers in Exeter. Samuel Barker was the first permanent printer, from approximately 1697 onwards.⁸⁷ In the eighteenth century the printing industry in Exeter slowly began to expand, with the newspaper as the main impetus, although contacts with London remained important. A decisive event occurred in 1704,

⁸³ I. Maxted, "Four rotten corn bags and some old books". The impact of the printed word in Devon', in R. Meyers and M. Harris (eds), *Sale and distribution of books from 1700*, Oxford 1982, p. 60.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁸⁶ Exeter had about 15,000 inhabitants in 1697. Maxted, "Four rotten corn bags and some old books", p. 60.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 40–42.

when Samuel Farley established *The Exeter Postman*.⁸⁸ With strong growth in production and distribution, the number of booksellers and printers almost doubled every decade after 1750. In 1775 in terms of numbers involved, printing became more important than bookselling in Exeter (see table 2.6). From the 1770s onwards there seems also to have been more than one specialist in the production of popular genres in Exeter.⁸⁹ In the period 1825–1849 booksellers once more became more numerous than printers.⁹⁰

Various sources from the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries tell of small numbers of pedlars and hawkers in Exeter and Devon. According to the HPO, Exeter counted five pedlars and hawkers in the first year of the Licensing Act (1696–1697): three foot licenses (at 4 pounds each) and two horse licenses (at eight pounds).⁹¹ According to the marriage registers of the diocese of Exeter for 1734–1762, twenty-one people called themselves ‘chapman’, and three ‘pedlar’.⁹² In the register of the Exeter Freeman, we find six ‘petty’ (small) chapmen in the period 1600–1850, suggesting that it was difficult for chapmen to obtain the status

Table 2.6 Printers and booksellers in Exeter, 1700–1849.

	1700–1724	1725–1749	1750–1774	1775–1799	1800–1824	1825–1849
Printer	11	6	11	26	57	70
Bookseller/ stationer	17	19	12	24	55	98
Population	14,800	15,750	16,800	17,398	25,111	32,823
Printers per 1000 population	0.74	0.38	0.65	1.49	2.27	2.13
Booksellers per 1000 population	1.15	1.21	0.71	1.38	2.19	2.99

Source: Hinks and Bell, ‘The book trade in English provincial towns, 1700–1849’.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 45.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 60.

⁹⁰ Hinks and Bell, ‘The book trade in English provincial towns’, p. 62.

⁹¹ NA Kew, AO 3/370, *Register of Licences granted for a year from 24th June 1697 To Hawkers & Pedlars*. 1697–1698.

⁹² DRO, Exeter archive, *The marriage licenses of the diocese of Exeter 1734–1762*, 2 volumes, 132a and 132b; index is in 132c, (1947).

of official inhabitant. Pedlars without this status were allowed to sell or retail their wares, but they needed to pay a special fee.⁹³ In 1723 three chapmen swore an oath at the Exeter Guildhall: John Humfries, Joseph Vigor and John Grean, as did also three book sellers: Philip Yeo, Edward Store and John Strong.⁹⁴ Many pedlars avoided formal registration, however. In the 1820s several hawkers in the Devon area were imprisoned or fined for trading without a license.⁹⁵

Although the pedlars were a small presence, the local shopkeepers saw them as a growing evil. Exeter retailers complained in an advertisement in the *Exeter Flying Postman* of 4 January 1765 that the number of hawkers and pedlars had 'very much increased' and that many of them travelled with 'Carts and Wagons' by which they 'convey very large quantities of goods from town to town'. In this advertisement some 'principal tradesmen', as representatives of the shopkeepers in Exeter, applied to Parliament for the repeal of an act that favoured hawkers and pedlars.⁹⁶

The numbers may seem small, but when set alongside the small number of booksellers and printers in Exeter, itinerant trade evidently had a substantial share. It remains impossible, however, to determine how many pedlars actually sold printed wares.

CATEGORISATION AND TRADE PRACTICES

There are several ways to categorise pedlars. Spufford based her determination of social stratification on their wealth, expressed in terms of property and ownership as indicated in probate inventories and pedlar-license records.⁹⁷ Laurence Fontaine considered credit a crucial indication of the economic and social position of pedlars and used it as a key variable in unravelling trade organisations. For Fontaine, 'The pedlar was at the centre of a web of credit, covering different locations and extending over different periods of time'.⁹⁸ Ilja van Damme, who studied Antwerp pedlars

⁹³ M.M. Rowe, A.M. Jackson (eds), *Exeter Freeman, 1266–1967*, Exeter 1973, pp. xi–xxii.

⁹⁴ DRO, Exeter archive, Exeter city oaths, C1/70 (1720–1724).

⁹⁵ For instance, on 29 October 1829 Catherine Marks and Henry Lowe were imprisoned for three months with a fine of 10 pounds for hawking without a license, see DRO, Devon Quarter Sessions Gaol Calendars, QS32/100, Epiphany, 13 January 1829.

⁹⁶ *Exeter Flying Postman*, dd. 04-01-1765.

⁹⁷ Spufford, *The great reclothing*, pp. 33–68.

⁹⁸ Fontaine, *History of pedlars*, pp. 203–206, quote on p. 206.

in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, also took credit as a starting point for categorisation. He distinguished three groups: the marginal, isolated trader; the regular pedlar; and the merchant-pedlar. The first group was dirt poor, often lacking a proper job and income and always struggling to survive. Their merchandise comprised books, textiles, iron and small stuff. Regular pedlars were more trusted and respected by the authorities. They often worked in networks of family, with friends or in other partnerships. Credit and trust were integral to the networks in which they functioned, and as pedlars gave their customers credit, they necessarily returned to the same areas.⁹⁹ The merchant-pedlar had a solid financial position and sometimes even owned a shop; examples of this third category are the Dutch *Teuten* and the French *Savoyards*.

If a regular pedlar was successful, he could become a merchant-pedlar, owning his own cart or renting a stall at the weekly or annual market. Sometimes this pedlar might become supplier or financier of other pedlars, holding out the possibility that he could become wealthy.¹⁰⁰ It also happened that the separate groups formed a hierarchy as pedlars came into the service of other pedlars, as waged labourers for instance.¹⁰¹ Van Damme made an additional distinction between long-distance pedlars who went, for example, to Italy and the French Savoy, and pedlars who remained within a local radius.¹⁰²

Despite these attempts at categorisation, it remains difficult to pin down 'the pedlar'. The term often covers to a variety of activities, goods and services. A further difficulty is the fact that in England 'chapmen', 'pedlar' and 'hawker' are seldom used to distinguish distinct types of trader.¹⁰³ In the following discussion, I have therefore chosen a pragmatic categorisation, based on the observable practices of itinerant traders who dealt in printed wares.

Categorising English pedlars according to trade practices links social-economic stratification with actual commercial activities. Such trade practices comprise all the activities undertaken by pedlars in order to acquire goods, and to finance, transport and sell them. Four ideal types provide a framework for distinguishing among the diversity of these trade practices: (1) the occasional trader, (2) the pedlar of printed matter and

⁹⁹ I. van Damme, *Verleiden en verkopen. Antwerpse kleinhandelaars en hun klanten in tijden van crisis (ca. 1648–ca. 1748)*, Amsterdam 2007, pp. 72–73.

¹⁰⁰ Van Damme, *Verleiden en verkopen*, p. 75.

¹⁰¹ Deceulaer, 'Dealing with diversity', p. 180.

¹⁰² Van Damme, *Verleiden en verkopen*, p. 72.

¹⁰³ See, for example, the Old Bailey Proceedings, ref: t17720603-30, dd. 03-06-1772.

other goods, (3) the pedlar selling printed matter exclusively and (4) the pedlar selling specialist printed matter. These classifications are not without overlap and therefore one pedlar could appear in more than one category. Within these four categories we can make subdivisions into urban and rural activities, regular and irregular activities, and printed wares and other goods. Set alongside the classification by Van Damme, the group of 'regular pedlars' coincides roughly with pedlars selling printed matter and other goods, the group of 'marginal traders' partly coincides with occasional traders and the specialists, and the group of 'merchant-pedlars' with pedlars selling printed matter exclusively, in as far as the latter owned their own bookstall.

When I use these categories to describe the organisation and practices of the English itinerant book trade, I also take specific features of the English situation into account. For England the opposition between city (London) and provinces is more prominent than in the Dutch Republic. Also characteristic of the English situation is that the legal context in seventeenth century was different from that in the eighteenth century. After the lapse of the Printing Act in 1695, printing was permitted not only in London, Oxford, Cambridge and York, but in the whole country. Printing presses and printed material were no longer registered by the Stationers' Company. Censorship before publishing was abolished, although not every state control ended, as laws against blasphemy, obscenity and seditious libels were issued. Taxes such as duties on paper, printed matter and advertisements were also used as an instrument for state control. Furthermore, from 1697 onwards distribution by pedlars and hawkers was regulated.¹⁰⁴ Distribution no longer ran from London to the rest of the country, for pedlars could now also stock up at provincial cities.¹⁰⁵

The ethnic background of pedlars was important because in the regulation of itinerant distribution, English pedlars were often favoured over Scottish and Jewish pedlars.¹⁰⁶ In court cases a distinction was made between the more harshly treated Jewish and the more tolerated Christian pedlars.¹⁰⁷ Scottish pedlars had a large radius, travelling far beyond

¹⁰⁴ J. Brewer, 'Authors, publishers and literary culture', in D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery, *The book history reader*, London and New York 2006, p. 320; Raven, *The business of books*, pp. 85–88.

¹⁰⁵ Old Bailey Proceedings, ref: t18200517-66, 17-05-1820.

¹⁰⁶ Harris, 'A few shillings for small books', p. 96. Scottish and Irish pedlars were both numerous and unpopular in England.

¹⁰⁷ Naggar, *Jewish pedlars and hawkers*, p. 115.

the English borders, to France, the Netherlands and even Poland.¹⁰⁸ In England gypsies were also active as travelling hawkers and, just like the Jews, they were often profoundly distrusted.¹⁰⁹

And last but not least, a comparison of male and female hawkers throws up some striking features. Women had an important role at all levels. They ran publishing houses; they functioned as mercuries or as owners of circulating libraries; they ran bookshops; they acted as hawkers and ballad singers.¹¹⁰

Occasional Pedlars

The occasional bookseller was in most cases a local city hawker who combined various jobs and sold printed matter for only part of the year. Pedlars in London frequently combined jobs because no one job provided sufficient income. In the 1680s binders, for instance, could also be active as distributors of books in London.¹¹¹ Poorly paid jobs forced people to start selling printed matter on the streets. Elisabeth Homell, a London spinster, collected newspapers in 1765 at the printer James Emerson and brought them to a female hawker in a bar.¹¹² John Stiles sold wares as a licensed hawker in London in the 1760s but was also a housekeeper.¹¹³ In 1649 maimed soldiers and poor tradesmen were forced to 'sell papers in the streets to keep from starving'. They wrote a petition to oppose the 'Ordinance of Parliament concerning pamphlets and the Act of Common Council prohibiting the crying or selling of books or papers in the streets of London' because this measure would ruin them, promising never to sell pamphlets that reflected on the proceedings of the Common Council and Parliament.¹¹⁴

Peddling could also be one of many jobs in a sequence. John Sharpe sang love songs in the streets of London in 1719 'for his livelihood', but he had previously been a weaver.¹¹⁵ As we saw in chapter 1, David Love

¹⁰⁸ In chapter 3 we will encounter a Scottish print seller, Ritsart Sanders, who was active in Leiden in 1614.

¹⁰⁹ For examples of charges against gypsies as hawkers, see Chandler, *Gypsies hawkers*, pp. 3, 4–5, 21.

¹¹⁰ I. Grundy, 'Women and print: readers, writers and the market', in Suarez and Turner, *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, 5: 148–149.

¹¹¹ McKenzie, *The London book trade*, p. 28.

¹¹² Old Bailey Proceedings, ref: t17650417–21, dd. 17–04–1765.

¹¹³ *Gentleman's Magazine* 37 (1767), pp. 329–330.

¹¹⁴ McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, dd. April 1649.

¹¹⁵ Shoemaker, *The London mob*, p. 245.

(a miner, village schoolmaster, soldier and pedlar) and John Cheap (a soldier, skellat bellman and street seller) moved through a series of professions. For some of these individuals peddling was just a stage in their social mobility. Some pedlars became costers, shopkeepers and finally manufacturers or even warehouse owners.¹¹⁶

The trade in ephemeral and topical printings such as pamphlets, newsletters and newspapers often created temporary jobs, although some people managed to become permanent in these positions.¹¹⁷ Occasional street sellers were also often responsible for selling seasonable genres such as almanacs, prognostications and New Years' prints. Mayhew stated that around 1850 several street trades were carried on only for several months each year or even several weeks. Playing cards, for instance, were sold only for a few weeks before Christmas, often combined with almanacs. The supply of topical items such as broadsheets, by contrast, was not specifically seasonal but was dependent on incidents that could attract the interest of an audience.¹¹⁸

Pedlars of Books and Other Goods

Many of the pedlars licensed under the HPO from 1697 onwards probably fall into the category of 'all-round pedlars'. When describing the main features of the itinerant distribution system in England, Spufford stressed the important combination of cultural goods (books, for example) and consumer goods (food, clothes and combs, for example). Being often and long on the road, pedlars needed to be efficient with their time and space. For instance, they purchased local goods in the provinces and sold them on their way to London; in the capital they then filled their packs not only with cheap printed material (almanacs, ballads, songbooks, spelling books, woodcut prints, jest books) but also with other small goods like combs, needles, pins, fabrics and patterns, which they sold on their way home.¹¹⁹ Textiles were also an important commodity for all-round pedlars. They included linen and cambric from Holland, cotton and muslin from India, dyed silk and linen from England, cheap cloth from Scotland and also gloves, ribbons and cords.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ Naggar, *Jewish pedlars and hawkers*, p. 43.

¹¹⁷ McDowell, *The women of Grub Street*, p. 59.

¹¹⁸ Mayhew, *London labour and the London poor*, 1: 266–267, 306.

¹¹⁹ M.F. Suarez, 'Introduction', in Suarez and Turner, *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, 5: 18–19.

¹²⁰ M. Spufford, 'Drukwerk voor de armen in Engeland en Nederland, 1450–1700', in T. Bijvoet et al (eds), *Bladeren in andermans hoofd. Over lezers en leescultuur*, Nijmegen 1996, pp. 74–75.



Fig. 2.3. An example of a pedlar selling books and other wares. T. Busby, *Pedlar with his box of wares*, in: Thomas Busby, *Costume of the Lower Orders of London* (London [1820]), etching. London, British Library 7742.e.19.(2).

From the scarce probate inventories studied by Spufford, we get a sense of what individual pedlars carried in their packs. We have to realise, however, that appraisers did not always list all the deceased's possessions in detail. Ballads, for example, are never listed, probably because they were considered worthless. The pedlars Spufford describes were exceptional in that they were relatively prosperous and sometimes even able to start careers as shop owners. One example is John Cunningham, who in 1690 sold textiles, but also bibles and other books. In 1697 he obtained a license as a hawker with a horse.¹²¹

Criminal records sometimes also reveal a pedlar's stock. Not many indicted pedlars in Old Bailey proceedings carried printed goods, how-

¹²¹ Spufford, *Small books*, pp. 121–126.

ever; the majority sold items such as linen, cotton, cloth, stockings, handkerchiefs, earthenware, old copper and fish. Jewish pedlars sold practical goods like brushes, writing and sewing materials, combs, and trinkets but also cheap jewellery, watches and spectacles.¹²²

Some printers and publishers made extensive use of these all-round pedlars. When the hawker David Love was arrested in Hull, his wife informed the printer whose ballads he sold. The printer then went to the mayor, warning him that if 'paper-sellers' such as Love were stopped, it would be the end of his printing office.¹²³ Close ties with printers were also in the interest of the travelling hawker, who needed addresses on his route where he could stock up or even commission print work. In order to acquire new stock, Love often had his work reprinted in the towns he visited. We also know of his close relations with printers like Mr Evans, who printed his poems in London, and John Stead in Gosport. He even worked in the printing shop of Mr Stead himself for about a year.¹²⁴

The all-round pedlars often had to travel long distances. A pedlar who stocked up with books in London and then travelled the two hundred miles to Exeter would have been underway for two or three days.¹²⁵ In 1820 Samuel Harris travelled from London, where he had bought some goods, walking twenty miles a day and arriving in Birmingham within three weeks. Later he went to Bristol, Taunton and Exeter, and further into Devon and Cornwall.¹²⁶ There are examples of hawkers who walked forty to sixty miles a day.¹²⁷ Because of these long distances pedlars needed good contacts, addresses, taverns, shops and warehouses on the road, where they could stay or store their wares temporally. John Smyth, who lived in Love Lane, Aldermanbury, in London, said in 1827 that he had a warehouse where hawkers kept their boxes.¹²⁸ Pedlars also had their own regular meeting points: an essay in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1739 contains a reference to a 'Cafe of the Hawkiers and Pedlars'.¹²⁹ Pedlars

¹²² Naggar, *Jewish pedlars and hawkers*, pp. 41–43, 104; Hitchcock, *Down and out*, p. 52.

¹²³ David Love hawked not only printed texts, but also cotton balls, needles, thimbles, laces and buttons, see Harris, 'A few shillings for small books', pp. 90, 95.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 96–98.

¹²⁵ Maxted, "Four rotten corn bags and some old books", p. 38.

¹²⁶ Naggar, *Jewish pedlars and hawkers*, pp. 21–22.

¹²⁷ Harris, 'A few shilling for small books', p. 84.

¹²⁸ Old Bailey Proceedings, ref: t18270712-234, dd. 12-07-1827.

¹²⁹ *Gentleman's magazine* 9 (1739), p. 318.



Fig. 2.4. Anonymous, *David Love*, Nottingham c. 1823. David Love was a miner, village schoolmaster, soldier and pedlar in the late eighteenth, early nineteenth century. He hawked printed texts, but also sold cotton balls, needles, thimbles, laces and buttons. Nottingham city council: NTGM01920.

probably regularly travelled together in groups because it was safer. In the Alpine region of France pedlars travelled in groups of three to six.¹³⁰

The fact that in a provincial town such as Exeter, pedlar licenses could be collected at printers' addresses confirms the close link between itinerant trade and the distribution of printed matter in the eighteenth century. Mrs Trewman and Son performed this role in Exeter in the 1790s,¹³¹ but at

¹³⁰ Deceulaer, 'Dealing with diversity', p. 180.

¹³¹ *Exeter Flying Postman*, dd. 04-08-1796; 08-08-1799.

the beginning of the nineteenth century a grocer's, Newman and Co, had become the main address for licences there.¹³²

In eighteenth-century England all-round pedlars often originated in Scotland.¹³³ Scottish itinerants indeed had a strong tradition of peddling both at home and further afield. They were one of the first groups of pedlars in Europe to create their own professional societies. John Morris, a great expert in this field, has discovered five: the Fraternity of Chapmen in the Three Lothians (probably the oldest); the Chapman Court of Fife, meeting at Kilconquhar (1706); the Fife Chapman Society, meeting at Cupar (1705); the Chapmen of Perthshire and the Fraternity of Chapmen in Stirlingshire (1726). Societies elected a lord and brethren and had rules for members. The Stirlingshire Society had its own watchword, held dinners and organised horse races. The earliest minute books of the Fife and the Stirlingshire societies have survived and include references, among other things, to the setting up of stalls at fairs. Scottish chapmen societies organized fairs and markets and laid down rules for order and good behaviour as well.¹³⁴ Because shops hardly existed in rural Scotland, fairs and markets were especially important. They provided the people with not only livestock and manufactured goods but also ballads, pocket bibles and prose books.¹³⁵ With their high concentration of customers, fairs and markets were considered by travelling pedlars to be very attractive selling points.¹³⁶

Jewish pedlars and hawkers also had an important share in the itinerant trade in England.¹³⁷ The Jewish community, consisting of Spanish, Portuguese, and Sephardic Jews, arose from the 1650s onwards, when Cromwell decided to tolerate them. Dutch and German Jews began to enter the country about 1680, settling in the East End of London, in Duke's Palace, Bishopsgate Street, Bevis Market, St. Helen's Aldgate and the immediate areas. In 1792 the Jewish area was bounded by Bishopsgate in the west, Sun Street in the north, and by Aldgate and Houndsditch to the east and south.¹³⁸

Most Jews were very poor and they were not allowed to join guilds. Hawking from door to door provided one way to make a living, since the

¹³² *Exeter Flying Postman*, dd. 24-07-1806; 28-07-1814; 30-07-1818.

¹³³ See the Old Bailey Proceedings, ref: t17680907-39, dd. 07-09-1768. See also ref: t17650522-3, dd. 22-05-1765.

¹³⁴ Morris 'The Scottish chapman', pp. 162-164.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ Naggar, *Jewish pedlars and hawkers*, p. 15.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

investment was very small. With a few guineas they could buy some goods and start a small pedlar's business.¹³⁹ In order to avoid having to obtain an expensive license, many Jews sold their own goods. Jacob Kimhi, a Turkish Jew, sold not only slippers and Hebrew commentaries but also other religious works he himself had written.¹⁴⁰

Jews had their own meeting points and networks in the country, just like their Scottish counterparts. By 1740 there was a series of special lodging houses for Jews across the country, for instance.¹⁴¹ There was also a sense of solidarity and support within this ethnic group when members fell on hard times, as happened with the pedlar Samuel Harris about 1820. He then received seven shillings from the Jewish Poor Strangers' Fund.¹⁴² This solidarity was especially necessary because Jews were subjected to much social pressure, not only because of the poor reputation of pedlars in general, but also because of the anti-Semitic sentiment in the country. As we have seen in chapter 1 Robert Southey refers in his *Letters from England* (1807) to Jewish pedlars selling, among other things, miserable and obscene prints.¹⁴³

Pedlars with Printed Wares Exclusively

Retail specialisation already existed early in the seventeenth century.¹⁴⁴ At the end of the seventeenth century pedlars who concentrated on the sale of books could stock up only at about twelve publishers of popular books in London, such as Charles Tias and, later, his apprentice Thomas Passinger.¹⁴⁵ Tias sold his cheap 'small merry' and 'small godly' books and chapbooks on London Bridge and also offered popular material like primers, hornbooks, ballads and packs of cards.¹⁴⁶ Smithfield was for the production of ballads and broadsides.¹⁴⁷ London Bridge remained a significant nucleus of the popular press into the eighteenth century, although there were other centres in the city.¹⁴⁸

¹³⁹ Ibid., pp. 13–14.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 44.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 29–30.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 22–23.

¹⁴³ Southey, *Letters from England*, pp. 396–397.

¹⁴⁴ Spufford, *Small books*, p. 126.

¹⁴⁵ The inventory of Tias showed that about 28 percent of his supply consisted of religious books, see Spufford, 'Drukwerk voor de armen', p. 72.

¹⁴⁶ Raven, *The business of books*, p. 84.

¹⁴⁷ Harris, 'A few shillings for small books', p. 83.

¹⁴⁸ Harris, 'A few shillings for small books', p. 84; Raven, *The business of books*, pp. 156–158.

Some London pedlars did not extend their trade in printed wares beyond the limits of the city. They could easily refresh their stock and therefore carried small quantities of books. Some visited a number of regular customers in the city. The hawker John Brereton, for instance, had two hundred books in stock, which he distributed on the streets of London in 1666. He delivered 'Two quire [set of 24 or 25 printed leaves] to Anne Brache at the Parl Stairs Foot', furthermore 'One Quire to One Miller at Westminsterhall door' and 'A Dozen [copies] to one Michael in Westminster Hall'. Finally, 'the Residue [was] sold in the streets'. The next day he received another one hundred copies.¹⁴⁹ The Stationers' Company did all it could to suppress the street trade. In 1668 their members were warned not to lend or dispose of books to hawkers.¹⁵⁰

Some places in London had jurisdictions which were more favourable than others towards bookstalls. The owners of stalls in Westminster Hall



Fig. 2.5. W. Geikie, *The Ballad and the Penny History Stall*, 1843, portraying a Scottish salesman, from *Etchings illustrative of Scottish Character and Scenery* (Edinburgh 1841). London, British museum: 1856,0809.28.

¹⁴⁹ McKenzie, *The London book trade*, p. 25.

¹⁵⁰ McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, dd. 10-08-1668.

who had already sold their wares there before 20 November 1661 were not restricted by the Printing Act of 1662 and were thus free to sell books. In 1666 some of the forty-eight stalls were partly occupied by booksellers, a situation that persisted until 1780, when the bookstalls had to leave the Hall.¹⁵¹ In the 1680s the Stationers' Company tried to limit the number of bookstalls in the city because they undercut business and sold illegal and pirated books.¹⁵² Their strategy was to let some traders enter their organisation by paying a set fee and to prosecute the others.¹⁵³

Well into the nineteenth century bookstalls remained part of the London street scene. Around 1850 Mayhew still counted seventy bookstall keepers and barrowman selling annually around 1,400,000 books in the streets of London.¹⁵⁴ He also counted twenty 'standing patterers', street sellers with a fixed locality as opposed to 'running patterers', who were constantly on the move, trying to attract buyers. Mayhew observed a change in the character of the books sold in the first half of the nineteenth century. Old books (sermons, black letter editions of popular works), in particular, were more frequently sold at specialised second-hand shops in the city.¹⁵⁵

We should not forget that many pedlars abided by the rules and are therefore largely absent from our sources. A certain degree of specialisation seems likely within this group, as was the case with a pedlar in the beginning of the nineteenth century who offered a combination of chap-books, ballads and almanacs to customers in inns, village shops and private homes.¹⁵⁶ Hawking exclusively with books could be the first step to rising on the social-economic ladder.¹⁵⁷

From the seventeenth century until the nineteenth century, pedlars and stallholders with only printed wares could also be found at fairs and markets in provincial towns. Evidence suggests that itinerant booksellers were active in Cambridgeshire as early 1578.¹⁵⁸ Established booksellers from the capital and from provincial towns visited markets with their own

¹⁵¹ Treadwell, 'The stationers and the printing acts', 4760; Raven, *The business of books*, p. 186.

¹⁵² Hunt, 'Hawkers, bawlers and mercuries', p. 45.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 45–46.

¹⁵⁴ Mayhew, *London labour and the London poor*, 1: 292–293, 306.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 1: 294.

¹⁵⁶ Spufford, *Small books*, p. 124.

¹⁵⁷ Naggar, *Jewish pedlars and hawkers*, p. 117.

¹⁵⁸ T. Watt, *Cheap print and popular piety 1550–1640*, Cambridge 1991, p. 267; Spufford, *Small books*, p. 124.

bookstalls and were therefore temporarily itinerant.¹⁵⁹ Bookshop keepers in their turn used itinerant methods for selling books on the street near their shop. In 1780 the Exeter bookseller Barnabas Thorn was accused of obstructing the common highway by placing goods for sale outside his shop in Fore Street, St. Martin's parish.¹⁶⁰ A remarkable case is provided by Victor Choffin, a French bookseller who obtained an English hawker's license in 1823 and opened a temporary bookshop for a few days in the High Street in Exeter. Choffin sold items that included engravings, lithographic prints, and books.¹⁶¹ He is clearly an example of the flexible roles possible in the book trade.

From the 1620s onwards, itinerants came to Devon, and to Exeter in particular, to sell their goods. They were not always welcome, however, and several faced punishment and were sent back because of vagrancy, idleness and beggary.¹⁶² Travelling pedlar-thieves, such as Humphry Wootton who sold stolen books door to door in 1757, were no exception in eighteenth century Exeter,¹⁶³ for a network of people made handling stolen goods their business, operating in the guise of a pawnbroker or retailer.¹⁶⁴ Stolen goods were offered not only in exchange for money, but also for services or other goods.¹⁶⁵

Because of the ill reputation of hawkers, it was all too easy to point the finger of blame at them. In 1825 when William Jennings was indicted for stealing three books from the London bookshop of Peter Wright and William Wright, he stated that he had bought the books from a 'licensed hawker of books, coming from Paternoster-row' and that he had paid three shillings.¹⁶⁶ Pedlars and hawkers were easily impersonated by thieves, a practice that threw further bad light on them.¹⁶⁷

¹⁵⁹ Spufford, *Small books*, pp. 120–125.

¹⁶⁰ DRO, Exeter Archive, Quarter Sessions and Gaol Delivery, Indictments, 1726–1732, Single indictments from broken files, various dates, 1660, 1699–1786, 1855 (box 88). Christmas sessions 1780.

¹⁶¹ *Exeter Flying Postman*, dd. 19-04-1832.

¹⁶² For example Richard Grove of Sherborne, Dorset, a 'Pettie Chapman' who was arrested in Exeter in 1627 for being 'vagrant & idle', see DRO, Exeter Archive, C5/102 Order book of the Justices of the Peace concerning strangers, f. 58, 28 February 1627.

¹⁶³ He came to the door of the victualler William Cockram with a bible and a book of common prayer; both had been stolen from people in the region of Exeter, see DRO, Exeter Archive, QS, G12/B27/571, dd. 28-05-1757. See also R. Williams, 'Stolen goods and the economy of makeshifts in eighteenth century Exeter', *Archives* 112 (2005), p. 92.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 86–87.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

¹⁶⁶ Old Bailey Proceedings, ref: 18251027-76, dd. 27-10-1825.

¹⁶⁷ Williams, 'Stolen goods', p. 95.

The Stationers' Company saw the presence of book pedlars in the countryside as a threat to urban business and the legal provincial trade. In a petition of 1684 they complained about 'Markett Higlers and Pedlers in the Country exposing great numbers of such Bookes'. These pedlars destroyed 'greate part of the Trade which otherwise Book sellers would have in this Citty and Country'.¹⁶⁸ The fact that the Stationers' Company was prepared to support the local police financially to suppress the competing hawkers suggests that the economic impact of this rural trade was substantial.¹⁶⁹

Pedlars were often creative in avoiding legislated regulation, especially the obligatory license. In the 1760s commissioners of the HPO discovered that hawkers were not travelling from house to house, as was required by the Licensing Act, but displayed their goods illegally on 'Bulks, stalls, Benches, in Gateways & against empty houses and Alehouses'. Some hawkers pretended 'to Hire Rooms or shops by the year for the sale of Goods at particular times' in order to claim exemption from the Licensing Act. Others tried to sidestep the law by claiming that they sold their goods only at markets or fairs. In 1765 a clause was added to the Licensing Act to prevent this kind of behaviour.¹⁷⁰ In 1773 travelling booksellers who used stalls or other public selling places were also added to the act.¹⁷¹ This rule did not take into account that at certain times of the year pedlars might be forced to remain at a one location for some time: some pedlars became shopkeepers in the winter, for instance, when the roads were too bad for travel, renting a room in which they stored and displayed their wares.¹⁷²

The least popular of book pedlars were the 'foreign' pedlars, especially those who were Jewish, but also Scottish pedlars. Seventeenth-century booksellers were very eager to suppress these competitors, and their attempts to do so had results.¹⁷³ In the 1680s we see a strong legal offensive against the Scots. In December 1680 the House of Commons suggested measures to keep out Scottish pedlars, seen as rogues and vagrants, but they continued to journey in England:¹⁷⁴ the State Papers for 1683 record that over the previous ten or twelve months more Scottish pedlars had

¹⁶⁸ McKenzie, *The London book trade*, p. 26.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ NA Kew, T 1/443/212, England and Wales, Miscellaneous: Report of Commissioners for Hawkers on the Hawkers and Pedlars Act 1698-99, dd. 18-11-1765.

¹⁷¹ NA Kew, T 1/498/147-154, England and Wales, Miscellaneous: Commissioner for licensing hawkers, pedlars and petty chapmen: memorial and suggestions for amendment to existing legislation 1773, 1774 Nov, May.

¹⁷² Naggar, *Jewish pedlars and hawkers*, p. 17.

¹⁷³ McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, dd. 04-02-1684.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., dd. 20-12-1680.

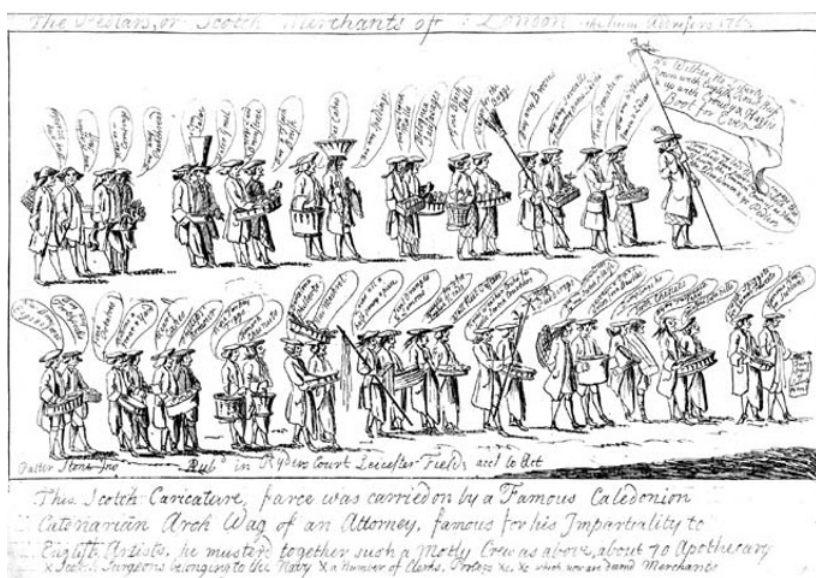


Fig. 2.6. *The Pedlars, or Scotch Merchants*, a satire on Scottish pedlars. London: M. Darly, 1763. London, British Museum: 1868,0808.4333.

appeared in England than before: 'peddling Scotchmen swarm abundantly in the North'.¹⁷⁵ These pedlars were especially distrusted for their role in selling pamphlets from Scotland. If they caught the eye of the police, they were apprehended, whipped and sent back across the border.¹⁷⁶ On 16 July 1683, six Scotch pedlars were examined and tried.¹⁷⁷ In 1684 an order was issued stating that Scottish and other pedlars without a licence would be classed as vagrants.¹⁷⁸ In 1684 even Scotsmen themselves who lived in places such as Westminster wrote petitions against these Scottish pedlars because they seemed to flood the country.¹⁷⁹ In June 1685 a bill against them was in preparation.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., dd. 14-07-1683; Bell, 'Sturdy rogues and vagabonds', pp. 89–90.

¹⁷⁶ In 1683 we read that a Scotsman, Mr Hebron, met five pedlars in London who were described as 'chapmen that travel with sacks', see McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, dd. 15-07-1683; p. 371, dd. 11-07-1683.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., dd. 16-07-1683.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., dd. 14-01-1684.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., dd. 28-02-1684.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., dd. 05-05-1685; dd. 26-05-1685.

Ballad Sellers and Singers

The Ballad Partners was a collaboration from the 1590s onwards between stationers, printers and booksellers who wanted to protect and expand the publication and distribution of ballads. By 1624 they had collected the copyrights for a stock of ballads and had created an efficient organisation for the distribution of these ballads. In addition to their interest in ballads, they were also active in the market for 'small godly books' and 'small merry books'.¹⁸¹ Very early in the seventeenth century we also find ballad sellers in Devon like William Symons and his wife, who in 1598 travelled from Torrington to the St. Luke fair in Plymouth with 'certayne smale wares and Ballades wich he carried with him'. Symons was 'whipped at Plympton the daye next after the fayre', however, because selling these wares was 'contraries to the Statute'.¹⁸²

Ballads were initially seen as a form of entertainment, but that began to change in the 1640s as they became just as distrusted as pamphlets and libels because of their possibly seditious content.¹⁸³ The Parliamentarians realised the political power of ballads and started to take action as the king had done earlier. An ordinance of September 1648 stated that Francis Bethum was appointed as Provost Marshal for the 'safeguard of Parliament'. He was 'to have power to apprehend and surprise all such person or persons as sold, sang, or published ballads or books scandalous to Parliament or its proceedings'.¹⁸⁴

In the seventeenth and eighteenth century the itinerant distribution of ballads was partly the work of specialist pedlars. A corporation of ballad sellers, 'the ballad society', existed in seventeenth-century London, composed of twenty-three writers. The pamphlet *The Downfall of Temporizing Poets, unlicenst Printers, upstart Book sellers, trotting Mercuries, and bawling Hawkers* of 1641 refers to this corporation and also reveals competition between the fiddlers who used to perform ballads and the hawkers who had taken over this branch.¹⁸⁵ Ballads were sold on the streets but also from stands in the city.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸¹ Watt, 'Publisher, pedlar, pot-poet', p. 64; Spufford, *Small books*, pp. 83–110.

¹⁸² DRO, Devon QS Bundles, QS/4/1599. Epiphany 1598/99 sessions. Document loose in box for 1599.

¹⁸³ See examples in chapter 1.

¹⁸⁴ McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, dd. 23-09-1648.

¹⁸⁵ The pamphlet is BL E.165.5. See D. Freist, *Governed by opinion. Politics, religion and the dynamics of communication in Stuart London, 1637–1645*, London 1997, p. 86.

¹⁸⁶ Shoemaker, *The London mob*, p. 246; Spufford, *Small books*, p. 124.

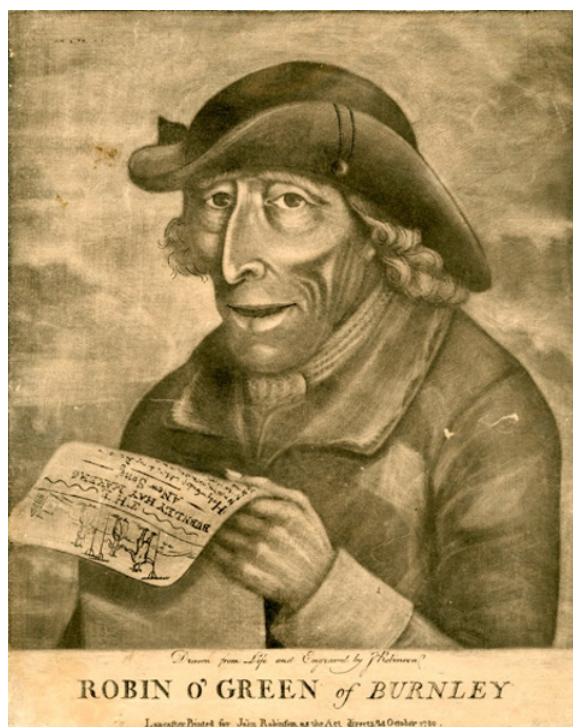


Fig. 2.7. J. Robinson, *Robin O'Green of Burnley*, 1780, portrait of a ballad singer, mezzotint. London, British Museum: 1851,0308.315.

Street singers and sellers had added value in the ballad culture because they not only sold printed versions but also performed the songs on the streets.¹⁸⁷ Singing ballads was an even quicker and more effective form of communication than selling the printed versions, not least because the illiterate could also be reached. Sung ballads could be remembered by their audience who then sang them again, in the streets and in coffee-houses and other public places. Even without any trading, the message was communicated. It is not surprising, therefore, that the authorities considered crying and singing ballads a crime. In October 1681 warrants were issued against the singer John Squier from Newcastle, who had been crying ballads against the Lord Mayor of London and other authorities, and against the booksellers who offered these songs for sale.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ C. Marsh, *Music and society in early modern England*, Cambridge 2010; Shoemaker, *The London mob*, p. 245.

¹⁸⁸ McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, dd. 13-10-1681.



Fig. 2.8. C. Williams, *The Enraged Politicians or Political Ballad Singers*, 1805, etching. London, British Museum: 1868,0808.7359.

In the 1690s growing concern about the increase in the number of seditious pamphlets and libels went hand in hand with growing distrust of ballads and ballad singers.¹⁸⁹ The production and dissemination of ballads therefore was often an underground affair. In 1697 a case handled by the Lords Justices concerned a ballad condemning French Protestants upon the occasion of 'Mlle Martell's execution'. It was ordered that the ballad be sent for investigation and that anyone found singing it be prosecuted. A few days later the ballad singer revealed the names of the printer and publisher.¹⁹⁰

Ballads can be considered both more dangerous and more intangible than pamphlets, which had a regular production and distribution network of mercury women and retail shopkeepers, whose locations and members could more easily be uncovered. Pamphlets might be dialogic, responding

¹⁸⁹ Ballad singers are also present in the Old Bailey proceedings, although not in great numbers and mainly in the eighteenth century. The word 'ballad singer' gives five hits in the Old Bailey Proceedings, ref. t17340227-3, dd. 27-02-1734; t17450424-31, dd. 24-04-1745; t17440510-29, dd. 10-05-1744; t17561020-50, dd. 20-10-1756; t17840225-26, dd. 25-02-1784.

¹⁹⁰ McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, dd. 20-07-1697; 29-07-1697.

to each other, but political ballads, by contrast, were more often a form of literary diversion; as McDowell has noted, 'ballad arguments were typically expressed at a level of generality and sportiveness that might encourage counter ballads but did not encourage a detailed point-by-point response'.¹⁹¹ Tim Hitchcock has suggested that in eighteenth-century London, ballad singers were considered to be more independent and troubling than beggars.¹⁹² Ballad singers could act, for instance, as creative interpreters, transforming the original texts into their own words.¹⁹³ Ellen Vickers and her daughter Sarah Ogilbie sometimes changed and politicized the texts they were selling of their own accord, as they did in 1717.¹⁹⁴ Another powerful tool of which ballads singers could make use was their own audience. London ballad singers who were accused of singing Jacobite ballads, for instance, sometimes tried to mobilize the crowd to support them.¹⁹⁵

The number of ballad singers in London must have been substantial in the eighteenth century, although at the end of the century their number seems to have declined. Francis Place wrote in 1810, 'There were probably a hundred ballad-singers then [the eighteenth century] for one now.'¹⁹⁶ Place liked ballads and had a preference for the more sexual and adventurous ones, but he also mentions religious hymns that were performed on the streets.¹⁹⁷ Robert Shoemaker has also observed a fall in the number of ballad singers in London between the 1770s and the 1810s, noting that there was 'more active policing and declining public interest in their wares'. For Shoemaker this shift had everything to do with the fact that the personal reputations of those who were not public figures were increasingly a matter for private circuits and not for public media. He notes that newspapers in this period no longer carried public apologies or personal appeals for charity. By the end of the eighteenth century the public press was no longer seen as a suitable forum for personal needs and individual reputations to be aired, unless the subject was a public figure.¹⁹⁸

Ballad sellers did not, however, disappear entirely from the street scene in the nineteenth century. Around 1850 Mayhew counted about 250 streets

¹⁹¹ McDowell, *The women of Grub Street*, p. 83.

¹⁹² Hitchcock, *Down and out*, pp. 61, 65–70.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 85–86.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

¹⁹⁶ Cited in *ibid.*, pp. 65–66.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 65–70.

¹⁹⁸ Shoemaker, *The London mob*, p. 273.



Fig. 2.9. J.R. Smith after H. Walton, *Pretty Maid Buying a Love Song*, 1780, mezzotint. London, British Museum: 1874,1010.22.

sellers with ballads and songs in London. In addition there were about ninety running patterers who specialised in new ballads about murders, accidents, duels, seductions and adultery.¹⁹⁹ He also noted so-called chaunters and ballad singers among the sellers of songs and ballads. Chaunters were similar to the medieval minstrels and sang, played the fiddle and accompanied running patterers. ‘Pinner-up’ pinned their songs to a screen or large board or attached them to a blank wall. Some of these street sellers specialised in songbooks.²⁰⁰ Mayhew’s descriptions give a sense of the complexity and diversity of street trade in his own day, and his picture would perhaps also have been true of earlier decades.

Ballad singers were still present in the provinces. In 1812 Thomas Liscombe, a well-known hawker, supplied the counties of Devon and



Fig. 2.10. C. Dubos after J. Laguerre, *Friendly as a Ballad Singer at the Country Wake, 1720–1745*, etching and engraving. London, British Museum: 1877,1013.929.

¹⁹⁹ Mayhew, *London labour and the London poor*, 1: 222, 306; L. Shepard, *The history of street literature. The story of broadside ballads, chapbooks, proclamations, news-sheets, election bills, tracts, pamphlets, cocks, catchpennies, and other ephemera*, Newton Abbot 1973, p. 100.

²⁰⁰ Mayhew, *London labour and the London poor*, 1: 226, 272–274, 298.

Cornwall with cheap material that included ballads. That year, however, he was accused of murdering Sarah Ford, the wife of a farmer, near Kingsbridge.²⁰¹

Many ballad singers remained independent and self-assured. Relations with their suppliers could be fraught. In 1854, John Jones wrote to his son Evan, also a printer, about a ballad seller:

You won't profit much from dealing with Owen James – the old boy's a lying hypocrite. Unless the ballads sells as he expects, he'll never come for them, nor pay for those he's had. I've printed a thousand of Edward Jones, Maes y Plwm's *Cerddi Swyngafaredd* [Poems of Enchantment] for him. He came with no money to get a hundred of them, and that was months ago – and I don't suppose I'll ever see him again.²⁰²

Ballad singing has an interesting gendered dimension. The female presence in political discourse from the 1690s on is striking. In this last decade of the seventeenth century, for instance, women were involved in singing and selling political lampoons such as anti-Royalist songs. For the authorities, their involvement made certain women potential informants about the authors and booksellers responsible for such works. These cases concerned not only printed copies, but also handwritten ballads, a form that perhaps provided greater protection for those involved. On 10 June 1693,

A woman of the play-house, being heard to sing a beastly lampoon on the Queene, an officer was sent to seize her, and in her lodgings were found severall of the libels, and one of her own handwriting. She was offred a pardon if she would discover the author, which refusing, she was tried, and sentenced to be exposed on the pillory at 3 severall places.²⁰³

McDowell has stressed the significance of the performance by hawkers and ballads singers in public places and especially the power of orality, noting, 'The importance of oral public discourse to popular political culture in London can scarcely be overestimated'.²⁰⁴ On the streets, in coffeehouses and market places, hawkers and ballads singers took part in conversations, arguments and oral advertisement. For the illiterate this was the only form of communication and their only source of the news. Control was barely possible.²⁰⁵ McDowell underlines the relationship

²⁰¹ I. Maxted, *The Devon book trades: a biographical dictionary* (Exeter Working Paper No. 7).

²⁰² P. Lord, 'Words with pictures. Welsh images and images of Wales in the popular press', in Isaac and McKay, *Images and texts*, p. 175.

²⁰³ McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, dd. 10-06-1693.

²⁰⁴ McDowell, *The women of Grub Street*, pp. 82–83.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 83, 86–87.

between eighteenth-century political ballads and the traditions of oral prophecy. Female prophecies had already been popular in the seventeenth century at times of political crises. Eighteenth-century Jacobite balladeers who still made use of this type of political prophecy expressed their desire for the restoration of the Stuarts.²⁰⁶

News Pedlars

Distribution of Newspapers

Because of their less controversial character, newspaper networks were much more open than the potentially seditious pamphlet networks. And especially in the provinces, newspaper networks witness to a well-organised itinerant distribution network. Moreover, in general the most stable and most durable networks of printers, booksellers and pedlars seem to have grown out of the production of periodicals such as newspapers, mercuries and magazines. Ian Maxted has characterised the newspaper at the beginning of the eighteenth century as the centre of 'a whole new communications network which supplied to many remote areas, a regular and speedy link with the rest of the world where previously any links had been spasmodic and slow'.²⁰⁷

We must not underestimate the complex distribution network that was setup in London to serve not only newspaper subscribers in the vicinity of the capital but also readers further afield. Unstamped newspapers reached areas outside London via itinerants. It is probable that some London weeklies were sent to provincial centres and from there further distributed in the countryside by hawkers. Sometimes the provincial distribution of London newspapers went hand in hand with the distribution of other goods, such as medicine. The post office was also a crucial point in the distribution network of London newspapers for their provincial subscribers especially because certain groups, such as clerks, could send their post free of charge. Harris has suggested that by the mid-1760s something over 35,000 newspapers, franked by the post, were sent weekly from London to the provinces. Still the price of a London newspaper disseminated in the provinces was higher than that of a copy sold in the capital itself, an important impetus for the launch of provincial newspapers.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ Ibid., pp. 88–89.

²⁰⁷ Maxted, "Four rotten corn bags and some old books", pp. 50–51.

²⁰⁸ M. Harris, *London newspapers in the age of Walpole*, London 1987, pp. 40–46.



Fig. 2.11. Anonymous after M. Laroon II, broadside of selection of the cries of London, 1688–1700, published by J. Overton. In the lower right corner: 'London's Gazette here'. London, British Museum: I,7.80.

Christine Ferdinand presents the provincial newspaper trade as an 'entirely' new development in the eighteenth century. The aforementioned lapse of the Printing Act in 1695 was a crucial event in this context. In the beginning of May 1695 the *London gazette* was the only newspaper in England, but by the end of the month six newspapers had already appeared. The provincial distribution networks had been sustained by London booksellers and stationers, but London printers left the city and established themselves in provincial towns. Initially it was difficult for printers to find a niche in this provincial market. One of the more successful strategies was to begin a provincial newspaper, of which the *Norwich Post* and the *Bristol Post-Boy* are the earliest examples. These first papers took information from London and added local news, especially advertisements, some of which promoted the sale of books. Ferdinand has counted thirty-seven provincial newspapers that started in the first twenty years of the eighteenth century, half of which did not survive. Thirty-nine of 150 provincial newspapers started before 1760 were still viable that year. In 1782 there were fifty provincial newspapers and in 1808 more than one hundred.²⁰⁹

Exeter started early when in about 1704 Samuel Farley established *The Exeter Postman*. Newspaper publishing generally thrived in the city, although London played its part, not only in providing news items that could be copied but also because newsprint was supplied from the capital. With the imposition of stamp duty in 1712, paper could come only from the London warehouse of the Commissioner of Stamps, with unsold paper returned to claim a rebate on the stamps. Exeter printers also needed London agents for accepting advertisements. And those who advertised needed to be able to see that the newspapers they were using were available at set times and in particular places, such as coffeehouses. Exeter booksellers acted as agents for medicines and books from London, which according to Maxted were the only non-local advertisements in the eighteenth century provincial press.²¹⁰ For local newspaper production to thrive, a populous city base and relatively great distance from London were crucial. The legal restrictions of the Stamp Act of 1712 caused producers to alter the shape of their products, but in 1725 this loophole was closed.²¹¹ The newspaper industry remained important into the

²⁰⁹ Ferdinand, 'Newspapers and the sale of books', 4: 434–447; Treadwell, 'The stationers and the printing acts', 4:772.

²¹⁰ Maxted, "Four rotten corn bags and some old books", p. 45–46.

²¹¹ Ferdinand, 'Newspapers and the sale of books', 4: 434–438, 441.

nineteenth century: in 1836 distribution of the best-selling newspaper in Exeter, the *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette* was about 1500 copies.²¹²

A reliable distribution network was crucial for the success of a provincial newspaper.²¹³ We know that in the seventeenth century hawkers, in addition to postmen, transported newspapers from London into the provinces.²¹⁴ Proprietors of newspapers could hire managers to be responsible for the printing office and distribution. The manager or 'book tradesman' might be a bookseller, printer, stationer or bookbinder. Managers maintained relations with newsagents, distributors, newsboys and hawkers. The newsagents, close to the printing office and therefore first in line in the distribution process, created teams of newsboys and hawkers who, in turn, delivered the newspapers to the customers. Commercial contracts were drawn up between the various participants in order to ensure continuity and stability. These networks remained into the nineteenth century and were also used for promoting and facilitating the sale of books in the provinces.²¹⁵

Several examples tell how this system actually worked, but also that it might fail. Joseph Bliss of the *Protestant Mercury* warned his readers in 1717 that they must not trust 'one Dame Bedford', a hawker who used to sell her papers. Other hawkers subsequently supplied the newspaper. Post boys took out the newspapers once a week and were used by the printers for other tasks, such as distributing books and medicines; they were also recipients, taking in advertisements and orders for lottery tickets from clients and collecting odd items of news, subscription money taken in by agents, and orders placed with agents for books advertised in the newspapers and sometimes for other goods. These post boys were often called 'Sherbornes', named after the *Sherborne Mercury*. That the work of these Sherbornes was appreciated is proven by the sometimes considerable New Years' gifts they received.²¹⁶

In the county of Devon networks of riders – travelling hawkers with a horse – were important for the distribution of newspapers. In 1772 at least

²¹² Maxted, "Four rotten corn backs and some old books", p. 67.

²¹³ Ferdinand, 'Newspapers and the sale of books', 4: 438.

²¹⁴ In the seventeenth century the post boy already played a significant role, for postal services were important for distribution of the news and other current publications, see D.A. Stoker, "'To all booksellers, country chapmen, hawkers and others". How the population of East Anglia obtained its printed materials', in R. Myers, M. Harris and G. Mandelbrote (eds), *Fairs, markets and the itinerant book trade*, New Castle, Del. 2007, p. 118.

²¹⁵ Ferdinand, 'Newspapers and the sale of books', 4: 438–439.

²¹⁶ Maxted, "Four rotten corn bags and some old books", p. 48–49.

eight post boys or hawkers were dispatched with the *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post* within two days of publication and reached at least twenty-five places in Devon and sixteen in Cornwall.²¹⁷ Agents for advertisements, who were often also booksellers, were the most important intermediaries between larger booksellers in Exeter like Trewman and Brice and the post boys and hawkers.²¹⁸ Customers in remote areas had to pay extra delivery charges.²¹⁹ At the end of the eighteenth century, Mrs J. Drew distributed almanacs for the printer of the *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*. It seems plausible that she also hawked newspapers in Devon and specifically in Exeter.²²⁰ In addition to door-to-door distribution, newspapers in the provinces were often made available through public houses.²²¹

In London more than anywhere else the newspaper industry was pivotal for itinerant street networks. In about 1703 at least nine newspapers were being published in London, with a combined circulation that can be estimated at 44,000. By 1720 the number of newspapers had increased to around twenty-seven and circulation stood at around 112,000.²²² Newspapers in London reached both purchasers and non-purchasers; the latter might read the newspaper in one of the many public houses: in 1739 London had 551 coffeehouses, 207 inns and 447 taverns and beer and brandy shops.²²³ The printer often supplied subscribers directly and around 1720 there were specialised 'trade publishers' (publisher being a distributor in this context) who carried out the primary distribution of the newspapers.²²⁴ According to Raven these trade publishers operated 'on behalf of undeclared or disguised parties'. They rarely register copyrights and established a marketing network for unknown authors, printers and booksellers.²²⁵ They also delivered the newspaper and brought

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 50–51.

²¹⁹ Ibid., p. 54.

²²⁰ Maxted, *The Devon book trades*.

²²¹ M. Harris, 'London newspapers', in Suarez and Turner, *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, 5: 422–423.

²²² Hunt, 'Hawkers, bawlers and mercuries', p. 42.

²²³ Harris, *London newspapers*, p. 47.

²²⁴ These trade publishers took risks that the established booksellers wanted to avoid. According to Treadwell, who has written extensively about trade publishers, their function was 'to let their names stand in the imprint of such works in the place of that of the actual copyright owner, to distribute the work, to account to the owner for the sales, and finally to deal with any incidental unpleasantness from the authorities', see Treadwell, 'The stationers and the printing act', 4:774.

²²⁵ Famous 'trade publishers' in this period were Abigail Baldwin, Rebecca Burleigh and Sarah Malthus, see Raven, *The business of books*, p. 172.

newspapers from the printer to the mercuries or pamphlets to the post office. The mercuries supplied the hawkers who distributed the news through the street either as part of a delivery service or in the form of casual street sales. According to Michael Harris the cheaper papers were entirely dependent on street sales.²²⁶ It seems that occasionally hawkers and street vendors rented out newspapers instead of selling them.²²⁷

The introduction of the Stamp Act in 1712 generated a new offence for London hawkers, namely, selling unstamped newspapers.²²⁸ Authorities sometimes confiscated newspapers at the post office, initiated their own pro-government propaganda or paid others to convey their message.²²⁹ In 1725 the application of the Stamp Act to cheap London newspapers caused serious problems for the street vendors who were dependent on this material for their income. George Parker protested against this application because:

Poor and miserable Blind Hawkers, whose deplorable Circumstances greatly deserve Compassion will, by suppressing these Half-penny News Papers, ... be absolutely deprived of getting their bread; for divers of them, who are Industrious, and have but a Penny or Three-Half-Pence, for a Stock to begin with in the Morning, will before Night advance it too Eighteen Pence or Two Shillings, which greatly tends to be comfortable support of such miserable Poor and Blind creatures who sell them about the Streets.²³⁰

In the 1740s hawkers and street criers were again confronted with new penalties. From 1743, for instance, the (itinerant) sale of unstamped and pseudo-newspapers could be punished with three months imprisonment. This legislation had significant impact on the networks of street traders that depended on this illegal news.²³¹ Between 1757 and 1776 taxes on newspapers rose and this branch of printing became more and more exclusive. As Harris states, 'The production of cheap print, outside the long-established forms of ballads and chapbooks, came to be centred on magazines, part-works, small books of practical information, and

²²⁶ Harris, *London newspapers*, p. 40; Harris, 'London newspapers', pp. 422–423.

²²⁷ Harris, *London newspapers*, p. 47. In 1782 this form of distribution was forbidden. Brewer, 'Authors, publishers and literary culture', p. 320.

²²⁸ Newspapers had to pay a penny or halfpenny stamp tax. See examples of this type of offences in Harris, *London newspapers*, p. 40 (Susannah Wilcox) and McDowell, *The women of Grub Street*, p. 73.

²²⁹ An important source for these actions can to be found in the State Papers Domestic. See also Hunt, 'Hawkers, bawlers and mercuries', p. 44.

²³⁰ Quoted in Harris, 'A few shillings for small books', p. 89.

²³¹ McDowell, *The women of Grub Street*, pp. 73–74.

collections of texts released from copyright.' Outsiders could no longer access newspaper publication.²³²

Appreciation and respect for news vendors could easily turn into distrust and aversion. This weak link in the chain of supply was caused by the opportunistic attitude of many street sellers, who often stood with one foot in the official distribution system and the other in an illegal network. London mercury women combined decent newspapers with radical opposition papers.²³³ Because news, information, opinion and propaganda ran together so closely within the market, the regular communication network could easily be appropriated for irregular purposes such as the sale of seditious works under the guise of pamphlets and libels.

Pamphlets, Mercuries, News Books and Other Seditious Works

Pedlars played a crucial role in the dissemination of seditious pamphlets and libels.²³⁴ Their function as intermediaries went back to the seventeenth century, when during the Civil War, Royalists and Parliamentarians became aware of the impact and dangers of the political press. Jason Peacey has argued that pedlars and hawkers, as distributors of pamphlets and other political material, became a strong political force from the 1640s onwards.²³⁵ Dagmar Freist stated that authors of sensational news and pamphlets were in the 1640s increasingly depended on 'the network of the London book trade: publishers, printers, booksellers and hawkers'.²³⁶ Also called 'wandering Stationers', she sees them as a 'vital link at the other end of the chain, vending pamphlets and broadsides in the streets of London'.²³⁷ Booksellers and publishers needed pedlars to sell seditious pamphlets or feigned documents and to protect their own identities. Freist refers to a case in July 1642 when two street sellers, Evan Lewis and Richard Hubbard, were seized for selling a seditious and scandalous paper, *The Resolution of the Country of Hereford*. They were brought before the House of Commons and revealed that they had bought their copies from the printer Richard Hammond. And there are more examples of

²³² Harris, 'London newspapers', pp. 426–427.

²³³ Hunt, 'Hawkers, bawlers and mercuries', pp. 50–51.

²³⁴ According to Hunt, especially in the eighteenth century hawkers were an important link in the selling of newspapers and pamphlets, see Hunt, 'Hawkers, bawlers and mercuries', p. 47.

²³⁵ Peacey, 'Wandering with pamphlets'.

²³⁶ Freist, *Governed by opinion*, p. 84.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

apprehended street sellers who led the police to the person responsible for publication.²³⁸

In the 1640s the number of hawkers involved in the book trade had greatly increased as is shown not only by the growth in satires and prints but also in the reaction of the Stationers' Company. In July 1643, one of many petitions to suppress hawkers was brought to the Lord Mayor and Common Council. Also, the 'Citizens freemen of London' objected to these hawkers because of 'violation of the ancient Customs and act of Common Councill'. This time the Stationers' Company succeeded in suppressing the hawkers – on October 1643 an act of Common Council was issued 'for the prohibiting of all persons whatsoever, from crying or putting to sale about the streets within this City, and Liberties, any Pamphlets, Bookes, or Papers whatsoever, by way of Hawking, to be sold, and for the punishment of the offenders therein, according to the Costume and Law of this city'.²³⁹ This act also contains information about the social background and gender and age of the hawkers:

... a multitude of vagrant persons, men, women and children, which after the manner of hawkers, doe openly cry about the streetes, pamphlets, and other bookes, and under colour of thereof are found to disperse all sorts of dangerous Libels, to the intolerable dishonour of the Kings Maiesty, and of the high Court of Parliament, and the whole Government of this Realme, and this City in particular.²⁴⁰

Later the act refers to 'vagrant persons, ... being petty Chapmen within the said Statutes'.²⁴¹ In February 1644 the situation seemed not to have changed when the Stationers' Company presented a petition to Parliament calling for the 'suppression of hawkers'.²⁴²

Also after the Restoration the authorities recognised that continued regulation was necessary. In 1662 it was decided that a licenser would supersede the Stationers' Company as censor. Roger L'Estrange (1616–1704) was a well-known licenser/censor from 1663 until the revolution of 1688. In *Considerations and Proposals in Order to the Regulation of the Press* (1663) he criticized the role of the Stationers' Company and accused them

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Ibid., pp. 112–113.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 113.

²⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 113–114.

²⁴² McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar* dd. 05-02-1644; Freist, *Governed by opinion*, p. 114.

of supporting clandestine printing. He was very much aware of the economic and political power of the street vendors ('Mercuries and Hawkers') in both city and countryside.

Furthermore, the censor and the other authorities realised that the danger did not lie only in the sale of pamphlets in the streets. Cries and other oral ways of communication could cause uprisings as well. People who could not afford to buy a pamphlet, had the option of renting a copy for a short period from the hawker, one means for the hawker to earn extra money; pamphlets he could not sell were returned to the printer or mercury.²⁴³ In 1668 the city government forbade hawkers, 'man and women', to 'cry, sell or disperse any Gazetts, News-books, Libells, or other pamphlets'.²⁴⁴ The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of London followed with new measures in 1676 against 'loose and idle persons, called Hawkers, who do daily Publish and Sell Seditious Books, Scurrilous Pamphlets, and Scandalous Printed Papers'.²⁴⁵ Ninety-six London book-sellers, who blamed the hawkers for harming their reputation, petitioned against the chapmen and women who sold cheap books.²⁴⁶

L'Estrange did not focus only on London. He believed that libels were first distributed in the provinces and then in London.²⁴⁷ His attempts to round up the networks of printers, booksellers and hawkers selling subversive pamphlets and ballads failed, however. And after the lapse of the Printing Act of 1695, suppression of these networks became even more difficult. The only controlling instruments now were specific laws against seditious libels and blasphemy.²⁴⁸ Hawkers profited so much from the sale of lucrative libels, pamphlets and newspapers that they accepted the risk of arrest.²⁴⁹

For the censors and the police it was sometimes hard to find out who, in the end, was responsible for the production and distribution of a pamphlet. In 1666 two hawkers, Eliz[abeth] Bud and Mrs Radcliffe, were examined for selling a catholic pamphlet entitled *The English Catholics'*

²⁴³ McDowell, *The women of Grub Street*, p. 62.

²⁴⁴ McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, dd. 01-09-1668. These regulations continued to be adjusted and repeated, according to the circumstances. See for instance *ibid.*, dd. 30-11-1681, when all hawkers were forbidden to 'haunt the streets and coffee-houses with their pamphlets'.

²⁴⁵ Quoted from Raven, *The business of books*, p. 96.

²⁴⁶ Raven, *The business of books*, p. 96.

²⁴⁷ McKenzie, *The London book trade*, p. 25; Bell, 'Sturdy rogues and vagabonds', p. 91.

²⁴⁸ McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, dd. 26-04-1668; dd. 19-05-1670. See also dd. 08-06-1683. See also Raven, *The business of books*, pp. 85-88.

²⁴⁹ McDowell, *The women of Grub Street*, p. 61.

apology. They confessed that it had been given to them by John Brereton. Brereton, in his turn, had received two hundred copies and later a further one hundred copies from two gentlemen in the tavern Bell and Three Cranes. Often those involved did not know (or reveal) names at all.²⁵⁰ Sometimes the responsibility was shared by the various participants. The pedlar Stephen Whiteway was acquainted with George Cawdron and Robert Murray, both in the Penny Letter Office. Cawdron had advised Whiteway to sell several seditious books that he and Murray would supply; the works concerned were *The political catechism* and *The appeal*, in quarto.²⁵¹

Some of the hawkers worked in networks of exclusively female authors, printers and booksellers.²⁵² In November 1675 the bookshop of Mrs Breach at the foot of the stairs in Westminster Hall was searched. She confessed she had sold the seditious and scandalous pamphlet *A letter from a person of quality* to one Mr Patricius Roberts. She herself had paid 2 shillings and 6 pence for it but she claimed she did not know the 'hawking woman' who carried the pamphlets about. In a second interrogation it became clear that Mary White was the hawker and Catharine Knight the responsible bookseller. White had purchased the pamphlets for one shilling a piece. As a street seller, the hawker in this network was the most vulnerable link. The examiner Sir Robert Vyner considered White a poor, innocent and weak creature who only tried to earn a penny and knew not what she did. He requested that mercy be shown towards her, supposing there were more considerable offenders.²⁵³

In the 1640s the distribution of pamphlets and other ephemeral material did not yet follow systematic lines. With the coming of the periodical press more organised distribution took shape. 'Mercury-women' acquired a recognisable role in distribution, flourishing from the 1640s and becoming important mediators.²⁵⁴ Ann Dodd and Elizabeth Nutt and

²⁵⁰ Also priests were involved in handing the pamphlets over to hawkers, see McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, dd. 05-12-1666. In 1666 a distribution network consisting of George Wither, Henry Eversden, Sarah Anderton, Elizabeth Goslin, and Marg. Hickey, was apprehended for disseminating a seditious pamphlet entitled *Sighs for the pitchers*, see *ibid.*, dd. 23-07-1666. Again in 1668 a network of booksellers and hawkers was discovered selling seditious pamphlets, *ibid.*, dd. 26-04-1668 and [April] 1668.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, dd. 22-05-1680.

²⁵² See for an example in 1675, *ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, dd. 09-11-1675, 11-11-1675, 12-11-1675, 13-11-1675.

²⁵⁴ McKenzie, *The London book trade*, p. 25. In chapter 1 we noted that in contemporary dictionaries a distinction was already made between mercury women as wholesalers, on one hand, and hawkers and distributors, on the other; see Thomas Blount's *Glossographia* (1661).

their daughters, active in the 1720s and 1730s, are considered to be the most influential pamphlet-shop owners in London of their time. Nutt had several shops that sold newspapers and pamphlets in the heart of the city, near the Royal Exchange. She distributed, together with her daughters, the *Daily Post*, the *Evening Post*, and the *London Evening Post*, receiving these papers from the printers and publishers. The papers were accounted on a monthly basis. From the shop of Nutt, the servants took them to the hawkers and retail shopkeepers who sold them on. Ann Dodd senior distributed pamphlets and newspapers in Westminster in the 1720s and 1730s. Besides the *Daily Post*, the *London Journal* and the *London Evening Post*, she also sold the *Craftsman*, the *Common Sense* and the *Weekly Journal*, which were oppositional papers. She sold papers in large quantities: 750 sheets of the *Common Sense* in 1739, 1,750 sheets of *Mist's Weekly Journal* in 1718 and 2,700 sheets of the *London Journal* in 1721.²⁵⁵ There were also smaller-scale retailers of newspapers and pamphlets such as Mary Zierenberg, of Warwick Lane off Newgate Street, who purchased her papers from the publisher John Peele. Others from this period are Laetitia Bartlett and her mother and Elizabeth Smith.²⁵⁶

These examples stress the growing importance of women in the production and distribution of news as a whole from the end of the seventeenth century until the middle of the eighteenth.²⁵⁷ Mercury women were often the wives or widows of printers, which meant they were likely to have professional contacts and information, which would help in building up a distribution network.²⁵⁸ A similar active female presence can be found within the hawking of printed news on the streets.²⁵⁹ Margaret Hunt has commented on the social position of female street sellers, 'hawking was one of those marginal, semi-legal activities to which only the most desperate – the widowed, orphaned, homeless or indigent – would have turned'. They were often apprehended and accused of vagrancy or prostitution. Their number grew strongly in the eighteenth century.²⁶⁰

The book trade gave some of these women an opportunity for social mobility. They might start as wholesalers, for instance, but eventually

²⁵⁵ Dodd had her servant collect 2,700 sheets (108 quires) of the *London Journal* from its printer every week, see McDowell, *The women of Grub Street*, pp. 55–57, 101–102.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 55–57.

²⁵⁷ Raven, *The business of books*, p. 96.

²⁵⁸ Women needed a close relation to a publisher (father, brother, husband) to be allowed to enter the book- or newspaper business. Hunt, 'Hawkers, Bawlers', p. 56.

²⁵⁹ McKenzie, *The London book trade*, p. 24.

²⁶⁰ Hunt, 'Hawkers, bawlers and mercuries', pp. 45–46, quote on p. 46.

become publishers of newspapers themselves. Between 1701 and 1740, according to Hunt, 'more than thirty newspapers show a woman as their publisher, printer, editor or major distributor'.²⁶¹ In his book *Life and Errors of John Dunton* (1705), Dunton refers to 'the honest (mercurial) women' and provides a long list of women who were significant in this field that includes 'Mrs Baldwin, Mrs. Nutt, Mrs Curtis, Mrs. Mallet, Mrs Croom, Mrs Grover, Mrs Barnes, Mrs Wineter [and] Mrs Taylor etc'.²⁶²

Not all women involved in the sale of printed matter were as virtuous as Dunton suggests. Several female hawkers in London were involved in the sale of unlicensed newspapers, incendiary pamphlets and pornographic broadsides.²⁶³ Hawkers who were arrested were often imprisoned in Bridewell, and sometimes their fate was announced in newspaper advertisements, as was the case for Anne Mahony, who in 1743 was arrested for selling four hundred unstamped papers and punished with three months of hard labour.²⁶⁴

Women played a remarkable role in the publishing and dissemination of dissident political newspapers and pamphlets in London in the first part of the eighteenth century.²⁶⁵ Ann Baldwin, for instance, was convicted for bringing out the Whiggish magazine the *Female Tatler* because it 'scandalously abuse[d] several persons of honour and quality, many of the magistrates and [an] abundance of citizens and all sorts of people'.²⁶⁶ In the 1730s a warrant was directed against three mercuries, among whom was Elisabeth Nutt, for publishing 'two false, Scandalous and Seditious libels'.²⁶⁷ In 1721 Ann Dodd distributed the opposition paper the *London Journal*. Her name appears frequently in the State Papers.²⁶⁸ These mercury women would never have been successful as intermediaries between publishers and customers if they had not created and maintained a network of criers and hawkers.

McDowell observed in her study *The Women of Grub Street* that eighteenth-century hawkers and criers of political pamphlets in London were predominantly female. She provides the example of Esther Haggett,

²⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 47–50.

²⁶² Quoted from *ibid.*, p. 47. Women like Ann Baldwin, Elisabeth Mallett, Ann Dodd and Elisabeth Nutt were indeed crucial in the production of printed news, see *ibid.*, pp. 48–49.

²⁶³ Ibid., p. 46.

²⁶⁴ Harris, *London newspapers*, p. 40; McDowell, *The women of Grub Street*, p. 73.

²⁶⁵ Hunt, 'Hawkers, bawlers and mercuries', p. 41.

²⁶⁶ Quoted from *ibid.*, p. 48.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 50.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 50–51.

who had her regular addresses and routes for buying newspapers and pamphlets. Judith Jones served the Amsterdam coffeehouses, attended by Whig adherents, as a news pedlar. In January 1684, Jones was fined 13 shillings and 4 pence for selling the pamphlet *The irregular account of swearing the two pretended Sheriffs*.²⁶⁹ And there are many other examples.²⁷⁰ Female hawkers sometimes had long careers as street sellers and therefore could have their own trade lists printed. Frances Carver spent more than twenty-five years, from 1717 to 1743, selling ballads and unstamped newspapers. The recidivist Ann Mahony was arrested seven times for selling unstamped newspapers.²⁷¹

Other groups active in this business contained elderly people, often homeless and frequently blind, crippled or otherwise disabled. In 1649 maimed soldiers and poor tradesmen were forced to sell papers in the streets to keep from starving.²⁷² McDowell gives examples of two very poor women, Elizabeth Scales and Ellen Vickers, who hawked papers in the years 1716–1718 to earn a small living and were taken into custody for selling seditious works; at the time of their arrest, Scales was eighty years old and Vickers seventy-two. Vickers worked together with her daughter Sarah, who also had to support her disabled husband. He was the only one among them who could read or write. Ellen Vickers had sold papers on the street since the trial of Dr Henry Sacheverell for a seditious libel in 1709.²⁷³

After 1750 women disappeared from newspaper and mercury production in London and resorted to activities such as ‘hawking, prostitution, domestic service, the needle trades, or “middle class” domesticity, depending on their luck or class.’²⁷⁴ The cause of this turn of events has still to be explained, but it is possible that women, flexible and free from restricting guild regulations, were more able than men to profit from political turmoil but lost their trade in more peaceful times.

Although street trade in pamphlets and other news was seen as very unwelcome by the authorities and the Stationers’ Company, hawkers became an important and indispensable economic force. Working as an apprentice for the Yorkshire printer Elisabeth Midwinter in the 1740s, Thomas Gent experienced the economic pressures daily. He sometimes

²⁶⁹ McDowell, *The women of Grub Street*, p. 60.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

²⁷² McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, dd. April 1649.

²⁷³ McDowell, *The women of Grub Street*, p. 58.

²⁷⁴ Hunt, ‘Hawkers, bawlers and mercuries’, pp. 63–64.

had to work nineteen hours a day, 'from five in the morning till twelve at night, and frequently without food from breakfast time till five or six in the evening, through our hurry with hawkers'.²⁷⁵ Hawkers had become the eyes, ears and voices of the publishers and booksellers.²⁷⁶ Their influence extended beyond the mere distribution of print. According to McDowell hawkers could 'determine what type of news ... customers were likely to buy. Their constant interaction with the public made these women, the least privileged in the trade, knowledgeable about what the average Londoner would pay for on the spot. As a result, it often happened that hawkers were the ones to initiate the printing or reprinting of a particularly hot, saleable text.'²⁷⁷

There were many informers on the streets who could provide information about seditious pamphlets, ballads and their distributors. Merchant William Davis informed the messenger Thomas Hopkins about scandalous pamphlets directed against the House of Commons, and William Picket was Hopkins' source about a specific pamphlet that hawkers were crying, *The French King's reasons for owning the pretended Prince of Wales king of England, Scotland, and Ireland*. Much information came from people who were themselves involved in the trade in this material or from their servants, lodgers and relatives. There was also a system for paying informants or press spies like Daniel Defoe.²⁷⁸ Hawkers themselves passed on to authors and printers of pamphlets information they had gathered in the streets and main public places they knew so well, from routes that ran from the Old Bailey to St. Paul's churchyard and from there to Westminster. Among their stops were inns, eating houses, and hostelries, including those where carriers of goods to and from London lodged. Pamphlets and books could be delivered to these places for distribution outside London.²⁷⁹ In an informant's report to Archbishop Laud we read about two petty chapmen: 'And this is he that dispersed the scotch pamphlets which this relator told sir John Lambe of and lurks about Gray's inn in a satin doublet, with his man Primacome following him with a cloak bag full of books and has his cloak laced with a great broad gold lace.'²⁸⁰

²⁷⁵ Thomas Gent, *The Life of Mr. Thomas Gent, of York; written by Himself* (1746; London, 1832), pp. 9–10, cited in McDowell, *The women of Grub Street*, pp. 46–47.

²⁷⁶ McDowell, *The women of Grub Street*, p. 60.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 60–61.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

²⁷⁹ Freist, *Governed by opinion*, p. 115.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 116. Quoted from the State Papers 16/467.9.

Not surprisingly the authorities engaged hawkers to work as spies, as is recorded in a declaration dated 31 October 1679 and issued in London:

Proclamation offering a reward of £40 for the one that discovers the author or printer of any of the seditious and treasonable books and pamphlets lately published, and assuring pardon to any hawker or disposer thereof who should discover the book seller or printer who supplied them, and any book seller of printer that discovers the author.²⁸¹

Authorities often only apprehended the pedlar in order to elicit the name of the author or printer. Having supplied that name, the pedlar might be set free.²⁸² Or, as the declaration noted above makes evident, they might be encouraged by a pardon issued in advance. And indeed, sometimes hawkers decided to betray their suppliers, as was the case with Stephen Whiteway, 'lately a hawker about London'. Whiteway, whom we have seen selling several seditious books supplied by Robert Murray and George Cawdron, confessed that he had 'heard Cawdron often say that at a gentleman's request he had caused Douglas' sermon to be printed'. He supposed that Thompson, the printer, had printed it for him.²⁸³

Hawkers could also influence the production side of the political press. In 1720 Ann Barnwell handed a written copy and printed copy of a very controversial ballad to the Catholic Jacobite printer Catherine Clifton in exchange for one hundred other printed ballads.²⁸⁴ The year before Barnwell had been apprehended with a bundle of political ballads and pamphlets. The trail led to a pamphlet seller, Thomas Gawen, and to John Lowden, who had delivered the pamphlets to the printer, and last but not least to Mary Matthews, who had printed this material, among which was the Jacobite pamphlet *Vos Populi, Vox Dei*. Matthews was hanged for this offence.²⁸⁵

Their involvement with political news could accord these illiterate ballad singers the status of heroes of the freedom of the press, especially in periods of political turmoil and protest. For in their own way, according to McDowell, 'the fiction making skills exercised by hawkers on those most public of early modern stages, London streets, are a model for Augustan popular literary life'.²⁸⁶

²⁸¹ McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, dd. 31-10-1679.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, dd. 30-03-1654.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, dd. 22-05-1680.

²⁸⁴ McDowell, *The women of Grub Street*, p. 61.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

²⁸⁶ Augustan literary life refers to English writers such as Swift and Pope who were active in the first part of the eighteenth century. They liked to compare their works to the poetry that was produced in the era of the roman emperor Augustus. *Ibid.*, p 82.



Fig. 2.12. Anonymous, *Distribution of pamphlets supporting John Wilkes*, ca. 1770, mezzotint. London, Guildhall: q402877.

Printers and publishers often had their own network of hawkers and chapmen. The bookseller Michael Sparke named ten chapmen in his will. Sometimes booksellers and chapmen became friends – Richard Whitaker left 20 shillings each to his ‘good friends and chapmen’.²⁸⁷ News producers knew the importance of informing their readers about the routes their chapmen followed, as can be seen in the *Northampton Mercury* and *Gloucester Journal* in the 1720s, where individuals who acted as news vendors for these newspapers are mentioned.²⁸⁸ In 1780 the *Hampshire Chronicle* went as far as to train and equip their newsmen. Although these news vendors probably received no salary or regular earnings but rather made their income through sales, they were considered a continuation of the news network and therefore taken care off.²⁸⁹

Mutual dependency in a network could generate far-reaching solidarity and loyalty. Because of the close ties between producers and distributors, peddlars who were arrested were hesitant to reveal the names of their

²⁸⁷ Freist, *Governed by opinion*, p. 114.

²⁸⁸ Harris, ‘A few shilling for small books’, p. 86.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

suppliers to the police. The London hawkers Henry Eversden, Sarah Anderton, Elizabeth Goslin and Marg. Hickes were all involved in the sale of the seditious pamphlet *Sighs for the pitchers*, written by George Wither. Robert Crosfield, alleged to be the author of *A dialogue between the modern courtier and an honest English Gentleman*, was taken into custody in 1696 but denied he had written the piece. He said people had sent him a parcel of pamphlets in which he found no harm. He then 'hired several hawkers to sell them directly to the members of parliament at the opening of session'. Among these hawkers was Ann Herring, who was also arrested because of her part in dispersing seditious papers. Crosfield tried to take the blame but did not succeed in getting Ann Herring free. He was concerned about her and described her bad condition: she was, he wrote 'miserably poor, and lies on the bare boards on the Common Side of the *Compter*, ready to perish: having also Two children in the same starving Condition for want of her labour to maintain them in this miserable time of Scarcity'.²⁹⁰ In 1728 twenty-four people who were connected to the Jacobite publication *Mist's Weekly Journal* by the Jacobite printer Nathaniel Mist were arrested in London. Mist's network consisted of several families, two mercury women and the hawker Judith Salmon, who worked for Mrs Smith, a mercury woman.²⁹¹ All the printers, publishers and booksellers who were questioned pretended ignorance of the other people involved. Some bailed out imprisoned colleagues and others supported duped hawkers financially. The printer Daniel Pratt stated in 1743 that the printers of unstamped papers 'keep up a Bank, to maintain such of their Hawkers that are or may be putt in prison for selling the same'.²⁹²

Husbands sometimes tried by means of a petition to get their hawking wives freed from prison. Several hundreds of these petitions, which assert the innocence of the accused, are preserved.²⁹³ John Batte wrote in 1663 that his wife 'had intended no harm by the sale of the books, being unable to read' and that she would not sell such items again.²⁹⁴ Family members – wives, sisters, daughters – took over the tasks of jailed family members, as was the case with the Nutt daughters.²⁹⁵ Equally or even more important

²⁹⁰ McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar of documents*, dd. ?-11-1696.

²⁹¹ McDowell, *The women of Grub Street*, p. 68.

²⁹² Quoted from Hunt, 'Hawkers, bawlers and mercuries', p. 54.

²⁹³ These petitions, usually in the third person, are to be found in the State Papers. See McDowell, *The women of Grub Street*, pp. 103, 108.

²⁹⁴ McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, dd. ?-?-1663.

²⁹⁵ Hunt, 'Hawkers, bawlers and mercuries', p. 54; McDowell, *The women of Grub Street*, pp. 100–101.

was the use of print itself to defend their activities. Several weeklies provided a platform for these women to speak out and reach a wider audience.²⁹⁶ Sometimes new ballads described the prosecution of a pamphlet printer. Ann ('the ballad-singer') Barnwell laid hands on a ballad that accused betrayers: 'He [John Matthew] was treacherous betray'd by Servants false 'tis said/ for Gai 'tis true, their Master slew,/ A trap for his Life they laid'.²⁹⁷

Hawkers also organized transactions based on commission. In the 1720s London hawker Ann Bowes delivered books and pamphlets to bookseller/hawker Phillis Leveridge and was paid after Leveridge had sold them.²⁹⁸ The strong ties between news producers and news vendors lasted well into the nineteenth century. In the 1820s and 1830s, for example, newspaper vendors were sometimes employed by newspaper printers as 'street shopmen'.²⁹⁹

An interesting subgenre within pamphlet production and distribution was so-called gallows literature.³⁰⁰ These pamphlets were a popular item in the pedlars' pack in eighteenth and nineteenth century England. They contained information about executions such as witness reports, the last words of the convicted, and prayers.³⁰¹ One such work is *The very becoming and exemplary behaviour of William Patrick, from the time of his receiving sentence to his execution*, printed by T. Brice, 'in the North-Street' in 1787, which the author introduces by saying that 'the following particulars ... are now published as likely to gratify curiosity and produce some good effects'. Sometimes these execution sheets were published in advance of the event itself.³⁰² Gallows literature was used to justify punishment, but also to entertain, by 'celebrating the convict's crimes or treating the death lightly'.³⁰³ Shoemaker gives the example of Jack Hall, from

²⁹⁶ McDowell, *The women of Grub Street*, p. 110.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 102–103.

²⁹⁹ Harris, 'A few shilling for small books', p. 86.

³⁰⁰ Although the genre and the involvement of pedlars was older. On 19 September 1681 a hawker who cried at 10pm Lord Shaftesbury's speech that had been burnt by the hangman was apprehended, see McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, p. 296. See for the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, V.A.C. Gatrell, *The Hanging Tree: Execution and the English People, 1770–1868*, Oxford 1994.

³⁰¹ See e.g. Mayhew, *London labour and the London poor*, 1: 227–229; Maxted, "Four rotten corn backs and some old books", pp. 63–64. See also <http://broad sides.law.harvard.edu> with a collection of digitized dying speeches or accounts of murders.

³⁰² WSL LE 1787/04/12 EG 5. See more about this genre in chapter 3.

³⁰³ Shoemaker, *The London mob*, p. 260.

1707, who was long remembered because of the ballads about his activities.³⁰⁴ Pamphlets with reports of duels were also published.³⁰⁵

In a sense, personal legal cases were brought to the judgement of the public, and private matters became subject to public opinion. One important instrument in making crime part of public debate was the publication of accounts of civil and criminal trials, such as the *Old Bailey Proceedings*. In response, the convicted might publish their own interpretations maintaining their innocence.³⁰⁶ The production and dissemination of texts about crime continued well into the nineteenth century. In addition to anecdotes of dying speeches, other genres with more general character also appeared. Mayhew observed twenty standing patterers in the city of London around 1850. Often they had a 'pictorial board' with coloured pictures on it and recited the verses of dialogue printed on the sheets. One of the favourite topics was murders and other horrors.³⁰⁷

News Peddling in the Provinces

From the 1680s the circulation of libels and other seditious printed works also took place in the provinces. Several complaints against this trade from provincial towns, often in the form of petitions, reached the House of Commons. Not only regular booksellers but often irregular distributors and itinerant traders were responsible for this dissemination, and pamphlets were distributed at markets and fairs. Outlets on the major routes leading out of London such as Smithfield market and on London Bridge were a source of ballads and penny chapbooks and probably also sold seditious pamphlets to pedlars. Coffeehouses, where the latest news was exchanged, were an object of suspicion in London and in the provinces. Sometimes printed libels were spread in the provinces under the cover of written newsletters. Professional newsletter writers in London also traded in printed pamphlets and seditious material.³⁰⁸ Relations between London publishers and provincial pedlars required a degree of trust as the publishers often supplied the itinerants on credit.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

³⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 261–262.

³⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 267.

³⁰⁷ Mayhew, *London labour and the London poor*, 1: 232–234, 280–281, 306; Shepard, *The history of street literature*, p. 100.

³⁰⁸ Bell, 'Sturdy rogues and vagabonds', p. 93.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. 89–93.



Fig. 2.13. P. Sandby, *Last Dying Speech*, ca. 1759, drawing. New Haven, Yale Centre for British Art: B 1975.3.225.

According to Bell, 'Pedlars, hawkers, carriers, country book sellers, balladmongers at fairs, provincial coffee-house keepers, individual recipients of manuscript newsletters with their printed enclosures were all, so it seemed, irritating agents in the spread of sedition across the nation'.³¹⁰ It could also happen that the central government gave permission to local

³¹⁰ Ibid., p. 94.

stationers to use all 'lawful means' to 'suppress these hawkers and seize their books, licensed and unlicensed', as was the case in Leicester in 1649, in reaction to complaints about the distribution of 'all scandalous and seditious pamphlets'.³¹¹ The stationers Thomas Williams and George Whittington were even paid 300 pounds on condition that they did not misuse the warrant.³¹²

In the eighteenth century, Exeter was a popular production and distribution centre for pamphlets, chapbooks and other forms of street literature. Evidence of its role can be found on the title pages of chapbooks like *The Prodigal Daughter* (1770s), whose imprint says: 'Exeter: printed by R. Trewman, behind the Guildhall, where country shopkeepers, travellers and others, may be supplied with a variety of old and new ballads, patters, penny histories, &c. &c. &c.'. Several printers in this city were interested in street literature.³¹³ Hawkers even organized their own publicity; one advertising bill, for example, offered cookery books, letter books, school-books, history books, gallows literature and amusing chapbooks and song-books like *The Entertaining Medley*.³¹⁴

In the nineteenth century, Exeter was still quite dependent on travelling newsagents and vendors, underscoring that itinerant trade, especially news distribution, was still very much alive.³¹⁵ The same can be said for more controversial news. In 1819 James Tucker was apprehended in Exeter for distributing libels and pamphlets. The hearings refer to several seditious libels described as 'A Letter to the Soldiers on the State of the Country & on the modes which are used to destroy their Connection with the People' and a seditious libel 'on the Conduct of the yeomanry Cavalry at Manchester', a 'Blasphemous bawdy on the Catechism', and a seditious libel on the 'Prince Regent on his thanking the magistrates and yeomanry Cavalry for their Conduct at Manchester'.³¹⁶

Chapbooks, Prints, Almanacs, Children's Books and Other Printed Wares

In *Small books and pleasant histories* Spufford was able to stress the close relationship between pedlars and the distribution of chapbooks, partly

³¹¹ McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, dd. 01-06-1650.

³¹² Ibid., dd. 06-06-1650.

³¹³ Maxted, "Four rotten corn backs and some old books", p. 62.

³¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 62-63.

³¹⁵ See the BBTI and I. Maxted, *A history of the book in Devon*. Exeter 2001, <http://bookhistory.blogspot.com>, no. 49.

³¹⁶ DRO, Exeter Archive, Quarter Sessions and Gaol Delivery, Calendars (Unnumbered) 1818-25; dd. 18-10-1819 and 10-01-1820.

because she used the famous collection of chapbooks brought together by Samuel Pepys in about 1680. Chapbooks were also produced in the provinces, however, where they too were intended for distribution by pedlars. From 1775 until 1820 a run of chapbooks carried the imprint: 'Falkirk: printed, where travelling chapmen may be served with histories, catechisms, spelling books, writing paper, & as cheap as in Edinburgh or Glasgow', and additional evidence suggests that this itinerant chapbook trade was spread all over the country. The chapmen's networks also served the distribution of the Cheap Repository Tracts (1795–98) and the publications of the Religious Tract Society that followed.³¹⁷

The production and distribution of chapbooks was well organised in Scotland well into the nineteenth century. Hawkers and chapmen travelling to farm towns, fairs and markets were crucial to these networks. At such locations they searched for a strategic spot to sell their material, which comprised not only chapbooks, but also songs and execution broadsides, for instance. Their activities cannot be read as a sign the repression of such trade had ceased; on the contrary, social control increased in the course of the nineteenth century. The production of cheap material was concentrated in Glasgow, Edinburgh and later Airdrie, Paisley, Falkirk and Stirling. English chapbooks went to Scotland and vice versa, an exchange recorded by William Cameron, alias Hawkie, in the account of his life.³¹⁸ Cameron's *Autobiography of a gangrel*, published in 1888, recounts that he would buy a quire or dozen of eight-page chapbooks for wholesale prices – that is, two pence a dozen – and then sell them for a halfpenny each.³¹⁹

Besides chapbooks, also children books were, especially in the nineteenth century, a popular item that was distributed by pedlars in the streets of London. Titles that were offered by them were ranging from 'Jack the Giantkiller' and 'The sleeping beauty' to 'Pictorial alphabets' and 'Christmas presents'.³²⁰ As we have seen, pedlars of 'Acts of parliament, Forms of Prayer, Proclamations, Gazettes, licensed Almanacks, or any other public papers licensed by authority' were permitted by the Licensing Act to sell these items without a pedlar's licence.³²¹ Almanacs were sold in the streets of London in great quantities (4,800 a year around 1850) but

³¹⁷ Suarez, 'Introduction', 5: 19.

³¹⁸ I. Beavan and W. McDougall, 'The Scottish book trade', in Suarez and Turner, *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, 5: 361–362.

³¹⁹ Morris, 'The Scottish chapman', p. 176.

³²⁰ Mayhew, *London labour and the London poor*, 1: 298.

³²¹ McKenzie and Bell, *The chronology and calendar*, dd. 17-02-1693; dd. 21-03-1696.

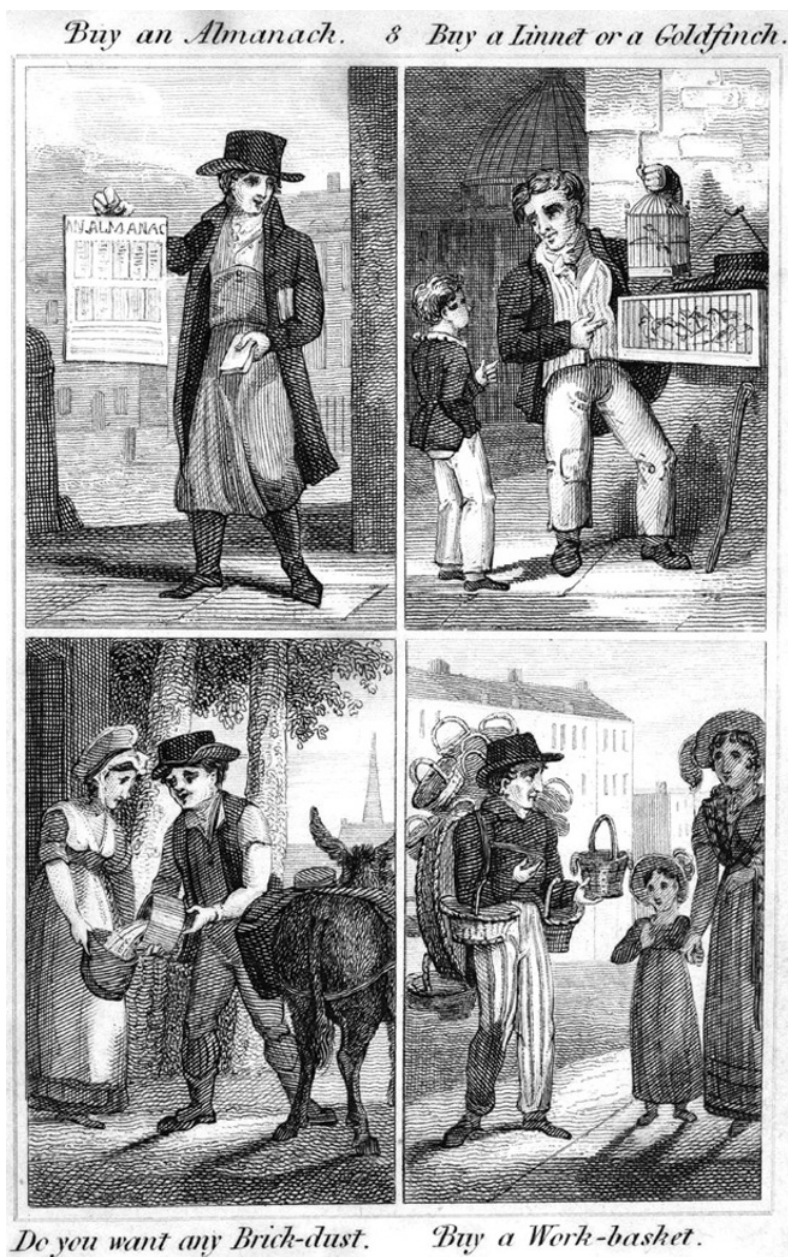


Fig. 2.14. *The New Cries of London or Itinerant Trades of the British Metropolis*. London, W. Darton & J. Harvey, 1823–1824, with an almanac seller in the upper left-hand corner, wood engraving. Harvard, Houghton Library: HEW 13.9.9 F.

were not an exclusively urban item.³²² In 1697 'Country chapmen' were warned in a letter from the Treasurer of the Stationers' Company not to sell 'counterfeit almanacs'. One response to these illegal almanacs was to speed up production so that the official almanacs could be sold before the counterfeits began to circulate.³²³ The Stamp Act of 1712 made it very difficult for other almanac publishers besides the Stationers' Company to survive and the duty on almanacs doubled in 1742, and again in 1757 and 1781. Yet still the company continued to press the government to take action against illegal practices and unstamped almanacs. From 1757 hawkers of unstamped almanacs were to be arrested. Informers were employed to keep an eye out for the production and, especially, the distribution of pirated and unstamped editions. Between 1757 and 1775 thirty-nine widows or labourers were caught selling almanacs on the streets.³²⁴

CONCLUSION: DISTRIBUTION NETWORKS AND DISTRIBUTION PATTERNS IN ENGLAND

One of the striking findings of this chapter is that already in the seventeenth century a wide network of pedlars disseminated printed material in both urban and rural markets. Based on the important work of Margaret Spufford and evidence from the licensing system, our view was until now limited to the eighteenth century. We should focus our attention on earlier periods also, however. A petition of the Stationers' Company in 1684 suggested that people in the countryside used to come to the cities to buy their books; the entry of pedlars in to rural districts threatened this urban market. In the 1660s the censor L'Estrange had stated that pamphlets were distributed in the countryside before they appeared in London. Analysis of the records of the BBTI and the HPO suggests that the role of pedlars was greater in the seventeenth century than in the eighteenth century, a disparity that can probably be attributed to the lapse of the Printing Act of 1695 and the growth of regular provincial production and distribution of books.

³²² See for nineteenth-century examples of the sale of almanacs in London: Mayhew, *London labour and the London poor*, 1: 271, 306–307.

³²³ Ibid., dd. 28–10–1697. See Capp, *English almanacs 1500–1800*, p. 40.

³²⁴ In 1757–58 ten mercury women were caught in London and Middlesex, three in Kent and eight women and twelve men in Derby, Manchester, Preston, Penrith, Newcastle, Stockport and Chester, see R. Myers, 'The Stationers' Company and the almanack trade', in Suarez and Turner, *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, 5: 732–733.

As a result of the Licensing Act of 1697 the itinerant trade became more structured and more regulated. Pedlars performed differentiated roles within itinerant distribution, for instance as a hawker on foot or a hawker with a horse. We also see the rise of specialised distribution channels, formed by mercury women and trade publishers. Another consequence of the Licensing Act was the stimulation of street trade in London, for which no license was needed. Competition within the city must have been very great, the price of printed wares low, and printed news and entertainment readily available. Furthermore, hawkers of so-called public papers, such as acts of Parliament, forms of prayer, proclamations, gazettes and licensed almanacs, became a legal subcategory, which gave pedlars, hawkers and chapmen a legitimate position in the market that their colleagues in the Netherlands, as we shall see in chapter 3, did not obtain before the nineteenth century. Institutionalisation in England also resulted in a clear division between 'regular' or 'legal', on one hand, and 'irregular' and 'illegal', on the other hand, from the end of the seventeenth century onwards.

Several scholars have pointed out the important political role of pedlars as distributors of newspapers, pamphlets and other topical print. Their involvement allowed them to become producers of news, and they also could initiate the production (or reprinting) of pamphlets, inform publishers of the wishes and purchasing interests of customers, and even write pamphlets and ballads themselves. Especially in the case of material such as news production, pamphlets, newspapers, and dying speeches, hawkers had a crucial function in bringing news and politics close to the ordinary people. They thus facilitated and shaped public opinion. Noteworthy in this context is the interactive, dynamic and flexible character of ballads. They were sung and cried on the streets, where the performer could change the content, and they could be circulated in both print and oral form. In the nineteenth century, English ballads started to avoid comments on personal affairs of ordinary people. They became a more private matter, whereas in the seventeenth and eighteenth century personal scandals had been public affairs.

Distribution networks were often coherent and strong, not the least because of good collaboration and loyalty within the group. These relations were based not only on family relations but also on professional contacts, such as those between publishers and pedlars. McDowell has written of 'mutual protection networks'.³²⁵ The need for a high level of organisa-

³²⁵ McDowell, *The women of Grub Street*, p. 100.

tion and support could grow in line with the distance pedlars had to cover. Such organisation could consist of credit relationships or professional societies as exemplified in particular by Scottish societies.

The British itinerant distribution network differed significantly from the Dutch network in that information surrounded British pedlars in many more forms. For example, authorities used newspaper advertisements to inform pedlars about how to obtain a license, the punishments for traveling without a license, and prosecutions that had been carried out. But the newspapers were also used by the pedlars themselves, to inform potential customers about their stock and where it could be purchased. We must wonder why such an information nexus did not exist in the Netherlands. One plausible reason is that the licensing system in England needed to be enforced and part of this process involved various media, including handbills and printed cautions. No such national control system existed in the Netherlands, where legislation was contained in placards. This question, and others, will be explored further in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PEDLAR IN THE DUTCH DISTRIBUTION NETWORK

This chapter addresses the character and extent of the itinerant book trade in the Netherlands.¹ It assesses both the economic impact of this trade in the period 1600 to 1850, when it functioned alongside the extensive official book trade in the highly urbanised Dutch context, and the role of the pedlar as a link in the distribution network. Chapter 2 considered attempts by booksellers' guilds and political authorities in England to contain itinerant book peddling – did similar bodies in the Netherlands respond in similar ways? This chapter replicates the structure and considers the same concepts as chapter 2 in order that comparisons between itinerant trade in England and itinerant trade in the Netherlands be consistent and clear.

THE SCALE OF ITINERANT DISTRIBUTION

How many itinerant tradesmen either operated within a Dutch city or used a Dutch city as a base for their travels? Dutch sources do not readily provide an answer to this question. In England and France official ordinances against peddling allow us to estimate the size of such trade in towns and villages, and when they are viewed together with complaints from local organisations such as guilds, we can build up a picture of where and how chapmen travelled. In the Netherlands, however, there were few commercial and administrative obstacles to itinerant trade. A recent study has shown how ineffective the decentralised Dutch censorship was.² Furthermore, printers and publishers faced repressive, rather than more rigorous preventative, censorship, although at times of particular turmoil, as in 1672, this repression could be fierce.³ Pedlars in the Netherlands were not confronted with measures similar to the English

¹ 'Itinerant book trade' is used here as a general term for the sale of books, pamphlets, prints, songs and other forms of printed matter.

² Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*.

³ M. Reinders, *Printed pandemonium. The power of the public and the market for popular political publications in the early modern Dutch Republic*, Rotterdam 2008, pp. 38–41.

Licensing Act, which in 1696 ordered all pedlars registered.⁴ The number of pedlars in the Netherlands can be calculated only with the aid of a multitude of sources from tax data, trade licences, patents, book bans, market-stall rentals, town tolls, criminal sentences, and other incidental forms of registration, such as the Napoleonic surveys of 1810–1813.

That economic realities had an impact on the activities and regulation of the itinerant book trade is certain, but the extent of that impact has yet to be established. As we noted in chapter 2, the eighteenth century saw remarkable growth in itinerant trade in general in several European countries.⁵ In England, however, itinerant distribution of print seems to have fallen in the eighteenth century. In the Dutch Republic, the economy and the publishing industry flourished in the seventeenth century and started to decline in the eighteenth – what were the repercussions for itinerant trade? Would the booming book industry in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic have provided many opportunities for itinerants to earn a small living? And would economic decline have produced a large army of poor and needy people who might have turned to street trade as a last resort?⁶ This chapter cannot provide empirical evidence of the impact of economic conditions on the scale of the itinerant trade, not least because we lack reliable and uniform sources that would allow us to track such effects. At most we have evidence for numbers over a shorter period, such as a decade. But we can trace the number of pedlars who fell victim to repression in court records that also provide information about the social characteristics of this group, its merchandise and its trading practices.

This study begins in 1600 and focuses on specific cities, but pedlars were also a presence in the Netherlands in the sixteenth century. One well-known example is provided by the Delft printer and publisher Harman Schinckel, who was arrested and executed in 1568. Under interrogation Schinckel claimed that he had sold forbidden books to ‘at least’ a hundred pedlars from Flanders, Gelderland, Friesland, and other provinces.⁷ A sixteenth-century ballad seller in Leeuwarden (Friesland) was accused of singing and selling seditious songs that insulted the church and ministers; he had bought a thousand songs for one guilder (fifty copies for one

⁴ Spufford, *The great reclothng*, pp. 14–18.

⁵ See Deceulaer, ‘Dealing with diversity’, p. 171 and De Vries, *The industrious revolution*, p. 169.

⁶ Frijhoff and Prak, *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam*, vol. 2.2, p. 259.

⁷ H. van Nierop, ‘Censorship, illicit printing and the Revolt in the Netherlands’, in A.C. Duke and C.A. Damse, eds., *Too mighty to be free. Censorship and the press in Britain and the Netherlands*, Zutphen 1987, pp. 30, 34–44.

stiver).⁸ The phenomenon of itinerant book selling was indeed much older, but in order to see what happened to peddlars when the regular book trade began to grow, we have to focus on the seventeenth century and later.

After 1650 the Dutch economy stagnated and even declined. Prices fell and population numbers held steady or also fell. Still, the domestic market remained strong.⁹ According to Gruys and De Wolf's *Thesaurus*, a list of booksellers and printers based on bibliographical research in the major library collections in the Netherlands, the number of booksellers fell sharply in the period 1660 to 1730, with 396 booksellers active in the Netherlands in 1660 but only 337 in 1730. Numbers picked up again after 1730; by 1770 there were, according to the *Thesaurus*, 441 booksellers.¹⁰

The eighteenth-century book industry in the Dutch Republic focussed more closely on the domestic ('Hollandse') trade at the expense of the international ('Franse') trade, which had flourished in the previous century. Its distribution system also began to change, as sale on commission started to replace the traditional barter trade, causing a new division between large publishing houses, which functioned as production and distribution centres, and smaller booksellers who concentrated on the sale of commission goods. Risk spreading also became more common in the eighteenth century, as booksellers increasingly participated in partnerships and used subscriptions to finance their product. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the sale of second-hand books became a significant element in the domestic book trade.¹¹

Amsterdam

Amsterdam played a crucial role within the Dutch book trade in terms of both production and consumption. Demand in Amsterdam was vital for the economic welfare of the book industry. Population trends in Amsterdam, however, did not follow the same pattern as in the rest of the Republic (see table 3.1). In 1650 Amsterdam had between 160,000 and

⁸ C.E. Harline, *Pamphlets, printing and political culture in the early Dutch Republic*, Dordrecht 1987, p. 89.

⁹ Frijhoff and Prak, *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam*, vol. 2.2, p. 86.

¹⁰ J.A. Gruys and C. de Wolf, *Thesaurus 1473–1800. Nederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers. Met plaatsen en jaren van werkzaamheid*, Nieuwkoop 1989. See the updated online version at www.bibliopolis.nl.

¹¹ H. van Goinga and J. Salman, 'De achttiende eeuw: expansie en begrenzing van de interne markt', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis* 17 (2010), pp. 194–198.

Table 3.1 Population of Amsterdam, 1585–1849.

	Population according to Oldewelt 1964	Population according to <i>Geschiedenis van Amsterdam</i> vol. 2.2
1585	30,000	
1600	60,000	
1622	c. 105,000	
1630	c. 115,000	
1650	140,000	160,000/175,000*
1680	c. 200,000	
1730		230,000/240,000*
1742	217,024	
1795		221,000
1796	200,600	
1830	202,400	
1849	224,036	

Sources: Oldewelt 1964, pp. 46–47; www.volkstelling.nl; *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam*, vol. 2

* precise figure not available

175,000 inhabitants and by 1730 between 230,000 and 240,000, but this increase was unique to Amsterdam and everywhere else population figures fell.¹² Book production and distribution capacity across the Republic as a whole declined while demand in Amsterdam increased. This imbalance created space for irregular and unconventional forms of distribution such as itinerant trade, which, in turn, may partly explain the growth in legislation against street booksellers and the dissemination of popular material. Around the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the market in Amsterdam ceased to be buoyant. Purchasing power declined as the cost of essential goods rose, and the disparity between rich and poor increased. Population figures remained stable, but poverty grew. In 1742

¹² After 1660 the policy of the previous 80 years was reversed and Amsterdam discouraged immigration. Frijhoff and Prak, *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam*, vol. 2.2, pp. 86–87, 89. I use the more recent figure of 600,000 inhabitants in 1650, based on Frijhoff and Prak, instead of the earlier figure provided by Oldewelt of 400,000.

Amsterdam had about 55,000 households, 23 percent of which could spend more than 600 guilders a year, 27 percent had between 600 and 300 guilders and about 50 percent had 300 guilders or less to spend.¹³

In the 1770s national food prices reached a critical and unprecedented level, leading to large-scale poverty and hunger and an accumulation of complaints about beggary and pauperisation. Relative to the Republic as a whole, however, Amsterdam remained affluent.¹⁴ In the years after 1750, the number of official booksellers in Amsterdam grew while the purchasing power of the local inhabitants declined, which must have put considerable pressure on the local book market. It was not for nothing, therefore, that the Amsterdam booksellers started a new offensive against street trade and bookstalls in this period, as we saw in chapter 1.

Lacking administrative sources, we are dependent on indirect sources such as criminal records for an indication of the number of itinerant booksellers in Amsterdam. We can, however, produce rough estimates from local records of criminal proceedings such as the Amsterdam confession books and sheriff rolls, and compare those figures with total population figures for Amsterdam. Furthermore, we can determine the proportion of all detainees in Amsterdam who were itinerant booksellers (see table 3.2).¹⁵ We find very few pedlars in the sheriff rolls, but booksellers and printers did violate the regulation of the press. Our principal source for pedlars and criers is the confession books, which largely list non-residents and individuals who were thought likely to flee the city. Offences noted in the confession books were often more serious than those recorded in the sheriff rolls.¹⁶

After 1660 and especially in the period 1670 to 1700, legislation against the activities of street booksellers in Amsterdam increased, a

¹³ Ibid., p. 259.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 258, 262, 293.

¹⁵ S. Faber, *Strafrechtspleging en criminaliteit te Amsterdam, 1680–1811. De nieuwe menslievendheid*, Arnhem 1983, p. 65. The starting point for my examination of pedlars in Amsterdam was a database produced by a legal history project by Sjoerd Faber, in which Faber collected information on 19,035 transgressions of the law in Amsterdam in the years 1680–1810. This database, available on the DANS (Data Archiving and Network Services) website (see the permalink [urn:nbn:nl:ui:13-65w-prf](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:nl:ui:13-65w-prf)), was compiled from books of confessions, jailers' bills and sheriffs' rolls. It includes entries for names, professions and offences. I would like to thank Sjoerd Faber here for his advice and help. I refer to this resource as 'Database Faber'.

¹⁶ The majority of the Amsterdam inhabitants found in court records lived in neighbourhoods such as the Zeedijk, the Jewish district and the northern part of the Jordaan. Frijhoff and Prak, *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam*, vol. 2.2, p. 92.

Table 3.2 Itinerant booksellers in Amsterdam court records, 1616–1729.

	Detainees (average per year)	Itinerant street sellers detained (average per year)	Itinerants street sellers as percentage of all detainees	Itinerant booksellers detained (average per year)	Itinerant booksellers as percentage of all detainees	Itinerant booksellers as percentage of all itinerants
1616–1621	1,325	17	1.28	1	0.2	5.88
1640–1645	1,590	9	0.56	0	0	0
1650–1659	5,280	unknown	unknown	30	0.57	unknown
1670–1679	5,470	73	1.33	20	0.37	27.4
1690–1699	5,870	144	2.45	31	0.52	21.5
1720–1729	1,900	66	3.47	8	0.42	12.1
1740–1749	1,110 or 1,250*	unknown	unknown	2	0.18 or 0.16*	unknown
1770–1779	1,020 or 1,240*	unknown	unknown	5	0.49 or 0.40*	unknown
1780–1789	c. 2,100 or 2,400*	unknown	unknown	6	0.29 or 0.25*	unknown
1790–1799	c. 1,850	unknown	unknown	6	0.32*	unknown

Sources: GA Amsterdam, RA, *Books of Confession and Sheriff Rolls*; Faber 1983; Oldewelt 1964

* The sources that Faber 1983: 65–66 used (*Boekje De Melander* and the *Cipiersrekeningen*) give different numbers for these years, and this uncertainty is reflected here. Additionally, the sources for the years 1780–1789 and 1790–1789 are incomplete, and the figures here are therefore an estimation.

development that can be traced in confession books and sheriff rolls of the period (see table 3.3). At the beginning of the seventeenth century and in the 1640s only a negligible number of itinerant booksellers were arrested. In the last decades of the seventeenth century, however, between 20 and 30 percent all itinerants arrested dealt in books. In the beginning of the eighteenth century arrested itinerants as a percentage of all detainees still increased, but the number of those arrested for selling books was halved.¹⁷ This pattern is in line with the increase in legislation against street book selling that was described in chapter 1. Press control and censorship resulted in arrests. The explanation for such regulation must be

¹⁷ The marked decline in the number of detainees in the eighteenth century is related to a decrease in the number of offences against property and sexual offences (prostitution) as well as other offences in general, W.F.H. Oldewelt, 'De zelfkant van de Amsterdamse samenleving en de groei van de bevolking', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 77 (1964), pp. 45–46; Faber, *Strafrechtspleging*, pp. 10–11.

sought not only in the political arena, but also within economic realities. As we saw in chapter 1, the commercial power of pedlars and street sellers was strengthened by the tension between decreased supply and increased demand.

When we include other sources and a longer time period in our assessment of the various types of itinerant trader, a similar pattern emerges: a marked increase in the number of traders in printed matter can be observed in the 1650s, with 30 recorded sellers of printed matter, the majority of whom were ballad singers. This rise came to a halt at the end of the seventeenth century. The database of all Dutch itinerant book traders that I created for this project records only 7 pedlars with printed wares in the period 1710 to 1719, a small number. Some of these pedlars had, however, a relatively long career, such as the ballad seller Paulus Abrahamsz, who was active at least between 1718 and 1724. Still, until the end of the eighteenth century the number of urban pedlars remained low.

The proportion of itinerant booksellers among all booksellers, regular and irregular, in Amsterdam is high in the seventeenth century but notably lower in the eighteenth (see table 3.4). Again the 1690s are particularly noteworthy: the official book trade was losing ground, and itinerant booksellers make up more than 15 percent of all booksellers. That figure then drops away and only rises again at the beginning of the nineteenth century, although the number of official booksellers in the turbulent decade 1800 to 1809 could be an underestimate. After 1820 the share represented by itinerants returned to the levels of the eighteenth century.

Scarce but rich material indicates that there were more pedlars on the streets of Amsterdam than our sources with a longer time span suggest. The preserved business records of the *Amsterdamsche courant* [Amsterdam newspaper] reveal that between 1767 and 1795 approximately 50 street sellers distributed this weekly newspaper.¹⁸ When we add this figure to our averages for 1780 to 1789 and 1790 to 1799, the proportion of all booksellers who were itinerant rises from 3.2 to 30 percent and from 3.8 to 35.6 percent respectively. The Napoleonic surveys of 1812 register only 33 'pedlars with books' and 'colporteurs', of whom only 4 are from Amsterdam. Here we also have to acknowledge the possibility of significant underestimation. Many travelling traders avoided being registered, and additionally, the French counted only pedlars who sold printed wares exclusively, neglecting those who sold a combination of printed wares and other

¹⁸ I.H. Eeghen, 'De Amsterdamse courant in de achttiende eeuw', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 44 (1950), pp. 44–45.

Table 3.3 Dutch pedlars with printed goods in Amsterdam, 1600–1850.

	Stall holder	Hawker (Marskramer)	Hawker (Omloper)	Ballad seller (Liedzanger)	Second- hand seller (Oudboek verkoper)	Apprentice (Knecht)	News vendor / postboy (Couranten- omloper)	Other professions	Total
1616–1621	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	1	5
1640–1645	-	1? [*]	-	-	-	-	-	-	1? [*]
1650–1659	-	-	2	25	-	-	-	3	30
1670–1679	-	-	3	9	-	3	-	8	23
1690–1699	-	1	18	8	1	-	1	6	35
1710–1719	-	-	1	4	-	-	-	2	7
1720–1729	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	6	9
1740–1749	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
1770–1779	3	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	5
1780–1789	-	-	1	5	-	-	-	-	6
1790–1799	-	1	-	3	-	-	1	3	6
1800–1809	-	2	3	-	-	-	1	-	6

	Stall holder	Hawker (Marskramer)	Hawker (Omloper)	Ballad seller (Liedzanger)	Second- hand seller (Oudboek verkoper)	Apprentice (Knecht)	News vendor / postboy (Couranten- omloper)	Other professions	Total
1810-1819	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
1820-1829	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
1830-1839	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
1840-1849	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Total	15	10 (11)	28	61	1	3	5	29	151 (152)^

Source: Salman Database (based on a variety of Amsterdam archival sources, including confession books, sheriff rolls, tax records, notarial acts, Napoleonic surveys, and patent registers)

* It is assumed but not completely certain that this pedlar carried printed wares.

Table 3.4 Official (sedentary) booksellers and itinerant booksellers in Amsterdam, 1616–1849.

	Official booksellers	Itinerant booksellers	All booksellers	Itinerant booksellers as percentage of all booksellers
1616–1621	46	5	51	9.8
1640–1645	137	[1?]	[138?]	[0.7?]
1650–1659	232	30	262	11.5
1670–1679	206	23	229	10
1690–1699	196	35	231	15.2
1710–1719	139	7	146	4.8
1720–1729	149	9	158	5.7
1740–1749	143 [150]*	2	145 [153]*	1.4 [1.3]*
1770–1779	142	5	147	3.4
1780–1789	180	6	186	3.2
1790–1799	151	6	157	3.8
1800–1809	51^	6	57	10.5
1810–1819	112^	7	119	5.9
1820–1829	109^	3	112	2.6
1840–1849	98	2	100	2.0

Sources: For the period 1540–1800: Gruys & De Wolf, *Thesaurus*, accessed 05-06-2013; for period after 1800, *Alfabet* on www.bibliopolis.nl, accessed 05-06-2013, and *Salman Database*, accessed 05-06-2013

* For 1742, we have a second and more precise figure for the number of booksellers (150) from the records of the *Personele quotisatie*, a general tax. Because a minimum annual income of 600 guilders was required for inclusion, members of the lower class are not included in this figure, including itinerant street traders, stallholders and smaller booksellers. The variation from the average number from the *Thesaurus* for these years (143) is small.

? It is assumed but not completely certain that this pedlar carried printed wares

^ Publishers and booksellers

goods, as many pedlars did.¹⁹ The figures may be flawed, but it is undoubtedly significant that in these surveys the position of the book pedlar was formalised for the first time.

Patent registers also provide helpful quantitative information. Patent registers were introduced in the Netherlands in 1805, but no such register survives for Amsterdam before 1850. The patent was a local annual tax for performing commercial activities that in effect functioned also as a legal permit.²⁰ Only the registers of some smaller surrounding places are available, such as these of Ouder Amstel for the years 1806 to 1812.²¹ Fifteen pedlars were registered, of whom one, Jacob Holland, carried printed wares such as news sheets. Nine pedlars were registered in Weesperkaspel and Bijlmermeer in the period 1807 to 1809, none of whom is listed as specialising in printed wares.²²

These parents reveal that pedlars cannot always be easily categorised. Amsterdam shop owner, merchant and bookseller J.B. van den Brink complained about the high assessment of 1840, stating that he sold only a few cheap works or picture books for children and earned no more than two or three hundred guilders from this trade. His protests resulted in a low assessment of only twelve stivers for his activities.²³ These small-scale booksellers with a shop had strong similarities with itinerant booksellers.

The most comprehensive quantitative source to list professions is the Amsterdam census of 1849, at the very end of the period covered by this study. Here the number of itinerant traders is high (709), but unfortunately we do not know what proportion of these street sellers dealt in printed matter (see table 3.5). The two pedlars found in other sources in this period appears to be an underestimate (see table 3.3), but additionally, the Dutch book-historical database *Bibliopolis* (www.bibliopolis.nl) lists only 98 publishers/booksellers where the census records 260. It is

¹⁹ B.P.M. Dongelmans, *Van Alkmaar tot Zwijndrecht. Alfabet van boekverkopers, drukkers en uitgevers in Noord-Nederland 1801–1850*, Amsterdam 1988, pp. 9–25; J.D. Popkin, 'The book trades in Europe during the revolutionary era', *The papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 78 (1984), pp. 407, 413.

²⁰ P.M.M. Klep, A. Lansink, and W.F.M. Terwisscha van Scheltinga, *De Registers van patentplichtigen, 1805–1893*, The Hague 1982.

²¹ GA Amsterdam, Oud Archief Ouder Amstel, toegang 5500, *Register der rondlopende gepatenteerden 1806–1812*, no. 17 (Jacob Holland), (1806–1807).

²² GA Amsterdam, Archief van de ambachtsheerlijkheid Weesperkarspel en Hoogbijlmer, de gemeentes Weesperkarspel en Bijlmermeer, toegang 398, inv. no. 289: *Kohier van patentbelasting* (1807–1811).

²³ GA Amsterdam, *Reclamatien Patenten*, inv. no. 68, no. 1 (1840/1841) (dd. 11-10-1840/27-10-1840), wijk- en verpondingsnummer [district number and taxation number]: 395/1471.

Table 3.5 Dealers in printed matter recorded in Amsterdam census of 1849.

Profession	Number
Book and newspaper printers and sellers (masters)	260
Book and newspaper printers and sellers (servants and typesetters)	383
Bookbinders	250
Second-hand sellers, street vendors, criers (all goods)	690
Petty chapmen/pedlars (all goods)	19

Source: www.volkstelling.nl

therefore impossible to estimate the relative scale of itinerant booksellers to established booksellers, printers and publishers for this specific year.

Pedlars were highly mobile and we should therefore take into account travellers from outside the Netherlands who occasionally visited Amsterdam to sell their material. Specialisation seems to have been quite common within these foreign groupings. Harald Deceulaer has uncovered Italians selling prints and other nationalities selling maps, barometers, needles, umbrellas and mercers' goods in the Southern Netherlands in the eighteenth century. Jews sold gold and silver watches and Germans sold linen, stockings and ironware. Some national groups of pedlars that travelled Europe received specific names, like the German Tödden, French Savoyards, and the Italian Tesini. French pedlars also came from Normandy and Cambrésis. In the sources these names sometimes became synonyms for pedlar. In the Netherlands the Savoyards were also called French pedlars.²⁴ It seems, however, that these well-organised foreign groups did not play a significant role in the sale of printed matter in the Netherlands, with the exception of the Tesini, who carried Italian prints. The foreigners who are present in the sources appear to have had a rather marginal position in the market for printed wares. In Amsterdam, for instance, pedlars from southern cities such as Bruges and Antwerp hawked printed news on the streets.²⁵

²⁴ Deceulaer, 'Dealing with diversity', pp. 173–174; Fontaine, *History of pedlars*, pp. 9–15.

²⁵ Some Amsterdam examples: Martinus de Moor from Bruges sold 'nieuwe tydingen' and Cornelis van den Broek from Antwerp distributed newspapers in 1692. GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 337, fol. 231–232, 234, dd. 17-04-1692; inv. no. 338, fol. 7, dd. 19-06-1692.

Jews were a special case. In Amsterdam, as also in several other Dutch cities, German or Ashkenazim Jews, but not Portuguese Jews, were actively involved in retail and street trade.²⁶ In Amsterdam they had their own markets in the Sint Anthoniesbreestraat, the southern part of which was referred to as Jodenbreestraat. According to an ordinance of 1632, confirmed again in 1668, Amsterdam Jews were forbidden to participate in a trade that was reserved exclusively for burghers and therefore could not open a shop or become members of a guild, although de facto many ran shops without problems. An official exemption covered a small group of Jewish book traders who produced Hebrew books. At the end of the seventeenth century all restrictions were lifted, which meant that Jews could legally open shops,²⁷ but several restrictions were subsequently re-imposed, in particular with the economic downturn and many bankruptcies of the 1730s.²⁸ From 1737 Amsterdam Jews were allowed to sell old clothes within and outside their houses, but were not permitted to display their stock.²⁹ Despite these restrictions, Jewish pedlars continued to come from Germany, Bohemia and Poland, increasing the army of street vendors in Amsterdam. From the tax register of 1742 (the 'Personele Quotisatie'), Leonie van Nierop has estimated that about 12,000 to 14,000 Jews lived in Amsterdam,³⁰ and that 'they were numerous enough – especially after the first quarter of the eighteenth century – to become serious competitors of the Dutch lower middle class'.³¹ In this period anti-Semitic sentiment began to grow; the pejorative appellation *smous* dates from this time.³² The authorities, however, were relatively liberal and benevolent.³³

Jews had a share in the itinerant book trade in Amsterdam and the Netherlands in general, but were not dominant. German Jews often travelled back to Germany to buy new stock and as they travelled they sold books at fairs, army camps and farms.³⁴ Some Jewish booksellers in Amsterdam became well-known stallholders in the Botermarkt and later in the Oudemanhuis Poort; we will return to these booksellers later.

²⁶ De Vries, *From pedlars to textile barons*, p. 40.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 40–41.

²⁸ Van Nierop, 'De handeldrijvende middenstand te Amsterdam in 1742', pp. 222–223.

²⁹ In 1738 new restrictions were issued on the sale of old clothes by Jewish pedlars. See Van Nierop, 'De handeldrijvende middenstand te Amsterdam in 1742', p. 213.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 222–223.

³¹ De Vries, *From pedlars to textile barons*, p. 30.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

³⁴ Van Nierop, 'De handeldrijvende middenstand te Amsterdam in 1742', pp. 220–221.

Leiden

Leiden was a much smaller city than Amsterdam in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1622, it had a population of 45,000. By 1670, this number had increased to more than 70,000, but because of the economic downturn in the eighteenth century, the population had decreased again to around 45,000 by 1748. The local book industry had profited greatly from the establishment of the university in 1575. Around 1650 approximately 100 people in Leiden were involved in the book business, as printers, sellers and binders.³⁵ The *Thesaurus*, which often underestimates, counted 60 booksellers in the period 1640 to 1649. For the period 1730 to 1739, this number was significantly lower, with 35 booksellers. Although the academic book trade played a significant role in Leiden, there was also room for more popular material. The itinerant book trade was not as substantial in Leiden as in Amsterdam, but nevertheless pedlars and ballad singers were active in the city throughout the length of this study.

During the seventeenth century a small group of pedlars received formal permission from the local government to hawk a diversity of wares in the countryside surrounding Leiden (see table 3.6). Their goods could have included printed material. One individual might hold a permit for several years running, as was the case for pedlar Willem Dircxz, who received a permit almost every half year from 1636 until 1649. In the eighteenth century, the frequency with which these permits were issued noticeably diminishes. Although we do not know why fewer permits were issued, it seems plausible that economic conditions played a part.

Only a small number of itinerant booksellers appear in the Leiden court records for 1600 to 1811. Within the different itinerant groups, ballad sellers were the most numerous, apprehended mainly for singing and selling seditious songs (see table 3.7).

The annual 'Registers van paspoorten' (1631–1808) records goods imported into Leiden. Pedlars and other merchants with books are occasionally noted.³⁶ It is not always clear whether printed matter that is listed

³⁵ P.G. Hoftijzer, *Pieter van der Aa (1659–1733). Leids drukker en boekverkoper*, Hilversum 1999, p. 13.

³⁶ GA Leiden, SAI, *Registers van paspoorten, registers van verklaringen betreffende ingevoerde goederen 1631–1808*, inv. no. 2234–2238. Another commercial source in the Leiden archive which has been of use for this project on itinerant street trade is *Verhuring- en bestedingsboeken A-2^E, registers van pacht en huurcontracten, en sedert 1591 (tot 1786) contracten inzake aanbestedingen, 1573–1828*, inv. no. 1382–1410. Unfortunately, pedlars with printed goods are not distinguished.

Table 3.6 Itinerant traders with permits in Leiden, 1610–1669.

	itinerant traders with permits
1610–1619	14
1630–1639	1
1640–1649	16
1650–1659	19
1660–1669	10

Source: GA Leiden, SAIL, *Aantekeningen uit de Burgemeestersdagboeken* 1587–1795, inv. no. 145–185

Table 3.7 Itinerant book traders in the Leiden court records, 1620–1740.

	Ballad singer/ seller	Occasional pedlars with other printed material	Itinerant sellers of other printed material. Profession unknown	Total
1620–1629	-	3	-	3
1690–1699	2	-	-	2
1700–1709	-	-	2	2
1710–1719	2	-	2	4
1720–1729	1	-	-	1
1730–1739	1	-	-	1

Source: GA Leiden, *Vonnisboeken* 1533–1811

was part of the household of people who moved to Leiden, formed the merchandise of travelling booksellers, or was being transported to Leiden bookshops. In the 1690s, Pieter van Velse entered the city with bound and unbound books worth 300 guilders, while Gerrit Croon carried with him 100 sheets of printed paper for books. Neither man was a member of the booksellers' guild, and the material they brought with them suggests they were either suppliers to printing shops or travelling pedlars. In the period 1700 to 1709 at least five people entered the city with books: Leendert Maertens (with books worth a remarkable 8,000 guilders), Cornelis Teunis (with 7 books), Ary Pieters (with books and written papers), Cornelis Slinger (many books, butter and other goods worth 1,000 guilders) and

Johannes van Grilick (books worth 250 guilders). For the 1730s, the source lists only two people with books and for the 1740s three.³⁷ In later decades, books are mentioned mainly as household items. From the 1750s onwards stallholders with unspecified 'market goods' were also listed.³⁸ In the administration of the 1790s, only four booksellers or suppliers were listed.³⁹ In 1807, one 'D. Thysen van Nymegen' entered the city with a 'bak gedrukte boeken' [a box with printed books] worth fifty guilders; he was likely a pedlar.⁴⁰

A local census of 1748–1749 informs us that in 1748 at least five people – two men and three women – distributed newspapers in Leiden.⁴¹ With approximately 61 official booksellers in the 1740s, this shows a ratio of 1 newspaper vendor to 12 official booksellers, and more broadly, 1 street vendor to 1956 households in Leiden.⁴²

From 1789 to 1801 Leiden had a licensing system for pedlars that was comparable to the system in place in Utrecht in the same period (see below). The introduction of this arrangement was probably a response to a placard posted by the provincial government in Holland in 1789, by which pedlars travelling the countryside had to register with the local magistrate.⁴³ In 1789, 36 pedlars were recorded, but in the following years the number fell. Among the goods these pedlars had on offer – textiles, mats, fish – no printed material was mentioned.⁴⁴ Its absence suggests that printed wares were acquired in the countryside of Holland by other means. Options for potential buyers in Holland were substantial, as they could purchase printed material in Amsterdam, Haarlem, The Hague and Rotterdam.

³⁷ GA Leiden, SAIL, *Registers van paspoorten*, inv. no. 2234: dd. 17-03-1693; 16-10-1699; 19-04-1700; 14-08-1700; 19-03-1701; 16-09-1701; 12-07-1708; inv. no. 2237: dd. 19-01-1737 (2000 guilders of books); 07-09-1739.

³⁸ GA Leiden, SAIL, *Registers van paspoorten*, inv. no. 2234, dd. 18-09-1755.

³⁹ GA Leiden, SAIL, *Registers van paspoorten*, inv. no. 2238, dd. 04-10-1792, 24-12-1792 (40 crates of books!); 15-3-1797 (with unbound books); 08-06-1797; 14-08-1797.

⁴⁰ GA Leiden, SAIL, *Registers van paspoorten*, inv. no. 2238, dd. 23-06-1807. D. Thysen of Nijmegen does not appear in Gruys and De Wolf's *Thesaurus* (see *Bibliopolis*).

⁴¹ Salman, "Vreemde loopers en kramers", p. 78.

⁴² In 1748, Leiden had 36,000 inhabitants who were more than four years old and 9778 households. H.A. Diederiks, D.J. Noordam et al., *Armoede en sociale spanning. Sociaal-historische studies over Leiden in de achttiende eeuw*, Hilversum 1985, pp. 87–89.

⁴³ *Groot placquet-boeck* [...] Part 9, Book 3, fols. 587–588. This act is comparable to a placard of 1760 issued by the provincial government of Utrecht in which ballad singers were listed for the first time.

⁴⁴ GA Leiden, SAIL, *Register van afgelegde verklaringen omtrent inwonersschap van Leidse venters 1789–1802*, inv. no. 1292. Number of pedlars: 36 in 1789, 9 in 1790, 3 in 1791, 2 in 1792, 1 in 1796, 2 in 1797, 16 in 1799, 7 in 1800, 3 in 1801, and 2 in 1802.

In the nineteenth century, peddling remained one of many forms of local retail trade, although the number of sellers of printed goods was small. In Leiden 55 pedlars were registered in the patent registers of 1816, and we know that two of these pedlars sold printed wares exclusively. Several others probably combined the sale of consumer products and cultural goods such as books. In 1839–1840 the total number of pedlar patents in Leiden had increased slightly, to 61, and three pedlars were registered to sell books exclusively. The development of the regular book trade in Leiden also followed a relatively static pattern: 32 book firms were registered in 1810; that number had not changed in 1840.⁴⁵

Utrecht

The city of Utrecht was smaller than Leiden in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1670 it had a population of 33,500, but this figure had decreased to 29,000 by 1690. Many people escaped from the city after 1672, when France, England, Münster and Cologne attacked the Republic. Then a slow increase towards 30,000 took place around 1700. In 1730 the population level of 1670 was reached again and with 33,000 people Utrecht was the sixth largest Dutch city, after Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Haarlem, Leiden and The Hague.⁴⁶ Like Leiden, Utrecht had a university and therefore also a scholarly audience for local book production.

We know little about the number of pedlars working in and from Utrecht in the seventeenth century. The scant sources reveal only three pedlars for the whole century. More systematic material for quantification is available for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. During the period 1730 to 1850, at least 65 pedlars with printed wares were active in Utrecht (see table 3.8). Nine of them are to be found in the criminal records of the city: three in the seventeenth century (between 1623 and 1697), three between 1730 and 1750 and three between 1790 and 1805.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ A. Bouwman et al., *Stad van boeken. Handschrift en druk in Leiden 1260–2000*, Leiden 2008, pp. 295–296.

⁴⁶ A. Pietersma, ed., *'Een paradijs vol weelde'. Geschiedenis van de stad Utrecht*, Utrecht 2000, p. 305.

⁴⁷ For the criminal research I have used an M.A. thesis by A.W.E. Daniëls, 'Toezicht op publicatie van drukwerk in Utrecht (1597–1749)', M.A. thesis, Utrecht University, 1997. Daniëls used from the Utrecht archive *Criminele stukken*, inv. no. 2244 (1577 t/m 1794) but focused on the period 1597–1749. For my research I have added the records from the period 1750–1762 (inv. no. 2244, sub nos. 244–342). The records from the civil jurisdiction did not contain itinerant book traders.

Table 3.8 Pedlars and booksellers in Utrecht, 1730–1850.

	Official booksellers*	Pedlars	Ballad sellers	News- paper vendors	Print sellers	Stall holders	All itinerant booksellers	All book- sellers	Itinerant booksellers as percentage of all booksellers
1730–1739	30	1	-	1	-	-	2	32	6.25
1740–1749	23	1	-	1	-	-	2	25	8
1750–1759	25	2	1	1	-	-	4	29	13.8
1760–1769	25	7	-	-	-	-	7	32	21.9
1770–1779	28	2	-	-	-	-	2	30	6.7
1780–1789	45	6	-	-	11	2	19	64	29.7
1790–1799	40	16	-	-	3	2	21	61	34.4
1800–1809	56	4	2	-	-	-	6	62	9.7
1810–1819	58	-	-	-	-	1	1	59	1.7
1820–1829	44	-	-	-	-	-	0	44	0
1830–1839	109	6	-	-	-	-	6	115	5.2
1840–1849	198	6	-	-	-	-	6	204	2.9

Sources: Salman Database (based on archival material in the Utrecht Archive: criminal records, taxes, licenses, charity administrations; patents)

* Based on the Thesaurus of Gruys and De Wolf, accessed 05-06-2013

One of the most comprehensive and reliable sources is a product of the provincial license system, which started in 1760. Pedlars who travelled from the city to the countryside had to register every year. Until 1789, the number of pedlars with books was small, and as the administration for the period 1763 to 1778 was sloppy and incomplete, for some years pedlars do not appear at all. The proportion of pedlars with books is largest in the period 1780–1799. Of the 52 pedlars licensed in 1785, one sold printed wares; by 1789, printed matter was sold by 3 of the 88 licensed pedlars. The highest proportion was reached in 1794, with 3 out of 66, but markedly lower numbers in other years bring down the average for the period. Figures fluctuated strongly after 1794. In assessing this data, however, we should take into account that travelling artisans such as tinkers, knife grinders and chair caners are included in these figures; when this group is taken out of the calculation, dealers in printed goods represent a higher proportion of all travelling salespeople, 4 percent, for example, in 1789. Also, goods such as books are more expensive and more durable than

consumer goods such as fruit, fish and potatoes, which suggests that the economic significance of travelling booksellers was greater than these figures alone can tell.⁴⁸ What is more, not all pedlars were willing or able to apply for a license because of the risk of being rejected.⁴⁹ Many pedlars could not meet the strict criteria that were laid down by the court of Utrecht. The court demanded, for example, that pedlars did not confuse trading with begging, which they noticed was frequently the case.⁵⁰ Pedlars who came from outside the city of Utrecht but traded within the province of Utrecht are not included in the licensing figures. People from the countryside were not totally dependent on itinerant traders, as they too could travel to a city to visit a bookshop or fair.⁵¹

Even as we bear these limitations in mind, the most helpful figures are those from 1760 onwards, when the license system was in place. Even more accurate are the figures between 1789 and 1809, not only because the administration of the licensing was more meticulous, but also because this information is supplemented by data about stall rentals at local markets and by the results of earlier research from Ank van Alten.⁵² We can conclude with some certainty that in the last two decades of the eighteenth century, about one third of all local book traders in the city of Utrecht were itinerant, which is a very substantial proportion.⁵³

Patent registers available for years after 1818 make it possible to calculate the total number of pedlars working in Utrecht (see table 3.9). Unfortunately, however, pedlars with books and other printed material are not identified specifically. In 1818, Utrecht had 34,000 citizens and 199 pedlars, or one pedlar per 170 inhabitants. We know with certainty of only one print seller in 1818. In 1839–1840, no fewer than 702 pedlars received a patent from the Utrecht city government to perform their activities, at least six of whom hawked printed wares.⁵⁴ The numbers for the period up

⁴⁸ A. van Alten, 'Het Utrechts boekbedrijf rond 1800. Een aanzet tot reconstructie', *De negentiende eeuw* 14 (1990), pp. 139–140.

⁴⁹ See also A. Baggerman, *Een lot uit de loterij. Familiebelangen en uitgeverspolitiek in de Dordtse firma A. Blussé en Zoon, 1745–1823*, The Hague 2000, p. 92.

⁵⁰ Utrechts archief, Hof van Utrecht, inv. no. 135–1, 135–2, *Lijsten van personen, aan wie vergund is hunne nering ten plattelande uit te oefenen 1763–1808*, dd. 16-05-1782.

⁵¹ Van Alten, 'Het Utrechts boekbedrijf', pp. 139–140; Salman, *Populair drukwerk*, pp. 354–355.

⁵² Van Alten, 'Het Utrechts boekbedrijf'.

⁵³ Salman, "'Vreemde loopers en kramers'", pp. 79–80.

⁵⁴ Jewish pedlars were also present on the streets of Utrecht in the eighteenth century, but as far as we can tell from the sources, they did not carry printed wares. See Utrechts archief, SAI, *Criminele stukken*, inv. no. 2244–313, dd. 22-01-1750.

Table 3.9 Pedlars in Utrecht, 1818 and 1839–1840.

	General pedlars	Pedlars of printed matter	Pedlars of printed matter as percentage of all pedlars
1818	199	1	0.5
1839–1840	702	6	0.9

Source: Utrecht archive SAIV, *Registers van patentschuldige kramers* inv. nos. 5367–5378 and 6151.

to 1809 suggest, however, that these later figures for itinerant traders in printed goods are too low.

CATEGORISATION, NETWORKS AND TRADE PRACTICES

Dutch pedlars can be categorised according to the same trade practices as were English pedlars in the previous chapter: the occasional pedlar, the pedlar of printed matter and other goods, the pedlar selling printed matter exclusively, and the pedlar selling specialist printed material. When we look at the proportion of each of these four categories in the whole database of Dutch pedlars, it becomes clear that the specialists form the dominant group, with 36.3 percent. The occasional sellers are second in line with 22.2 percent, followed by 18.6 percent who traded mainly in printed matter and then 8.6 percent with books and other wares.⁵⁵ Because the dominant source material comes from urban archives, it is no surprise that pedlars who sold specialist printed matter and occasional pedlars are more strongly represented, as pedlars with books, and especially pedlars with books and other wares, were a stronger presence in rural areas.

We do find rural pedlar networks in the Netherlands that were similar to those described by Laurence Fontaine in southern Europe.⁵⁶ These groups were often internationally orientated and covered long distances. The well-known ‘Teuten’ were active in the south-east of the Republic, the northern Southern Netherlands and the western part of Germany; Jan Lucassen has estimated that in 1811 at least 6,000 Teuten performed trading activities in these areas. Slovak herb pedlars came as far as the

⁵⁵ The information about 14.3 percent of pedlars listed in the database is too scanty to allow us to determine the category to which they belong.

⁵⁶ Fontaine, *History of pedlars*, pp. 50–72.

Netherlands to offer their wares, adjusting their routes as seemed advisable.⁵⁷ Teuten often worked in partnerships ['compagnieën'] and had a relatively strong organisational structure with a hierarchy of masters and servants. They often had fixed routes and paid annual visits to the same taverns, shops and warehouses during their travels.⁵⁸ They might have a place where they could store their trade goods, and some even had shops that were taken care of by their wives or others during their absence. Those who did not travel were responsible for administration and sometimes for assembling products to be sold.⁵⁹ Itinerant trade was seen not as a set way of life but as a means to an end that would enable the step up into a more respectable occupation, as a farmer, for example.⁶⁰

A similarly coherent network was found in the province of Zeeland, and especially on the peninsula Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, during the nineteenth century.⁶¹ Smaller pedlar groups were active on Walcheren (in Middelburg, Veere and Ritthem) and on Schouwen Duiveland (especially Zierikzee). In the registers of births, deaths and marriages, they were referred to as 'colporteur' or 'colportrice', the French term for pedlar.⁶² The Zeeland pedlars were different from the Teuten in that they were involved in the distribution of printed matter – some hawked books and Bibles and others were ballad singers.⁶³ Family networks played a significant role, with several generations of one family often registered with the same profession. The ballad singer Jacobus Doeland was the father of Catharina Doeland, who identified herself as a ballad singer in a marriage register of 1867.⁶⁴

Organisational structures are also to be found within urban itinerant trade. In Amsterdam after 1621 and in Utrecht, Den Bosch and Zwolle small-scale retail traders and street sellers were organised in their own

⁵⁷ J. Lucassen, *Naar de kusten van de Noordzee. Trekarbeid in Europees Perspektief, 1600–1900*, Gouda 1984, pp. 112–114.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

⁶¹ This network can be traced in Axel, Ossensisse, Hontenisse, Aardenburg, Koewacht and IJzendijke. I thank Arno Neele for informing me about these Zeeland networks. See Neele's published dissertation, *De ontdekking van het Zeeuwse platteland. Culturele verhoudingen tussen stad en platteland in Zeeland 1750–1850*, Zwolle 2011.

⁶² Zeeuws Archief, *Akten van de Burgerlijke Stand Zeeland vanaf 1796/1811*, Overlijdensakten Hontenisse 1796–1955, Apollonne Willems, dd. 14-05-1801. Found in www.zeeuwengezocht.nl/SISIS (dd. 16-03-2007).

⁶³ Zeeuws Archief, *Akten van de Burgerlijke Stand Zeeland vanaf 1796/1811*, Geboorteakten Middelburg 1811–1900. Aart van Schelven sold bibles for instance (20-11-1850). See www.zeeuwengezocht.nl/SISIS (accessed 16-03-2007).

⁶⁴ Zeeuws Archief, *Huwelijksakten Middelburg 1811–1922*, Jacobus Doeland, dd. 04-09-1867. See www.zeeuwengezocht.nl/SISIS (accessed 16-03-2007).

guilds, known as 'Kramersgilden'. Members paid a small admission fee and were permitted to trade in goods with a limited value, such as cheese, green peas and beans.⁶⁵ They did not deal in printed matter, however. Local authorities and booksellers' guilds may not have wished to risk formalising the sale of books and pamphlets on the streets, which could have generated severe competition for local bookshops. In some cases, booksellers preferred to give small-scale street traders a semi-official (and reduced) guild membership, but generally their principal aim was to have peddling suppressed. To search out urban networks of pedlars of printed materials, we have to turn to criminal and tax records.

Occasional Pedlars

Pedlars of printed matter in Amsterdam often combined a number of occupations. Servants and bookbinders might also sell printed works, although their involvement was prohibited by the local booksellers' guild. Seventeen-year-old Jan Jacobs worked in 1672 in Amsterdam as a bookbinder, but he appears in the confession books of 1673, when he was accused of theft, as a 'bookseller'.⁶⁶ Jacob Eemswoud, bookbinder and former servant of the bookseller Rudolf Wetstein in Amsterdam, stole books from his master's bookshop in 1727 and sold them for a lower price on his bookstall on a bridge. He also offered books stolen from Johannes Loots. In his defence, Eemswoud stated that he took this unusual step because he had never been paid by Loots for his work.⁶⁷ In Leiden in the 1780s, bookbinder Jacobus Perk was accused of hawking Orangist writings such as the *Vaderlandsche byzonderheden*, which appeared between 1784 and 1788, just outside the jurisdiction of the city.⁶⁸

These occasional street sellers were chiefly an urban phenomenon and were most numerous in large cities such as Amsterdam, with its large market for print. For the lower classes, peddling provided a necessary supplement to their low income. Hawking was frequently combined with other

⁶⁵ See for Utrecht, Van de Water, *Groot Placaatboek*, 3: 781–784. See for Amsterdam, Van Eeghen, *De gilden*, pp. 15, 41. See for Den Bosch, B.S. Panhuysen, *Maatwerk. Kleermakers, naaisters, oudkleerkopers en de gilden (1500–1800)*, Utrecht 2000, pp. 260–261, 265.

⁶⁶ GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 320, fol. 152, dd. 12-11-1672; fol. 214, dd. 27-02-1673. Jan Jacobs was not a member of the booksellers' guild.

⁶⁷ In the interrogation 'little bookshop' was used as a synonym for 'bookstall'. Eemswoud had stolen sixteen books with the title *De volmaakte Bootsman* from Lootsman. GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 385, dd. 25-03-1727; fol. 147, dd. 19-05-1727.

⁶⁸ R. van Vliet, *Elie Luzac (1721–1796). Boekverkoop van de Verlichting*, Nijmegen 2005, pp. 388–392.

types of street work, as night watchmen, criers, barrow men or herring packers, for example. It also often went together with artisanal work like button making, shoemaking, chimney sweeping and wool spinning. In April 1673, for example, seventeen-year-old hoop maker Rijck Cornelissen de Swart from Breukelen bought some seditious pamphlets and newsletters in the Beulingstraat and sold them on his own account at the Amsterdam bourse.⁶⁹ A sailor, a former soldier and a moneychanger also sold printed matter on the street.⁷⁰ At the end of the seventeenth century, Hendrik 't Water combined packing herring with selling pamphlets.⁷¹ Neeltje Claas was a silk winder but in 1697 sold songs on the Amsterdam bridges, probably because of a lack of work.⁷² Some occasional pedlars visited Amsterdam only at certain times of the year: at the end of the seventeenth century Jacoba Paulisse van der Pol sold songs in the winter in the city but was a farm worker in the summer, probably in the province of Brabant.⁷³ In the eighteenth century, occasional selling was frequently considered criminal, as both customers and authorities put greater trust in regular pedlars.⁷⁴

Semi-professional sellers such as members of the local militia or servants of the guilds who distributed almanacs among their fellow members also fall into the category of occasional distributors. In December 1668 the Amsterdam publisher Jacob Stichter advertised in the *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* [Sincere Haarlem Newspaper] that the militia almanac for 1669 would be distributed by the militia drummers (tambours).⁷⁵ Almanacs and other works of prediction provided work for only a few

⁶⁹ GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 321, fol. 14, 2 April 1673. We know nothing more of Rijck Cornelissen de Swart of Breukelen.

⁷⁰ In Antwerp, as in the Dutch Republic, soldiers were occasional pedlars. Disability may have prevented these soldiers from finding other work. Van Damme refers to an ordinance of 2 October 1659 that ordered people not to buy from soldiers because their goods were stolen; in the mid-eighteenth century soldiers still sold wares in the streets. Van Damme, *Verleiden en verkopen*, p. 72.

⁷¹ GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 338, fol. 62, dd. 27-08-1692.

⁷² R. Dekker and L. van de Pol, "Wat hoort men niet al vreemde dingen", *Spiegel historiael* 17 (1982), pp. 487-488.

⁷³ Van der Pol also sold handkerchiefs and stockings. *Dataschurk, Criminele vonnissen van 's Hertogenbosch en de Meierij*, ca. 1550-1803, record 1335, dossier no. 095-05, dd. 1794. Brigitta Kwiks provides an eighteenth-century example of the combination of peddling and farm work. In 1796, she was convicted in Den Bosch for sexual misconduct and beggary. *Dataschurk, Criminele vonnissen van 's Hertogenbosch en de Meierij*, ca. 1550-1803, record 773, dossier no. 075-15. Dataschurk is available online: www.stadsarchief.nl/stamboomarchief/dataschurk.

⁷⁴ Van Damme, *Verleiden en verkopen*, pp. 72-73.

⁷⁵ *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 18-12-1668.

months a year, from approximately November until January, but their sale demonstrates how networks could be formed as occasion demanded. During this short period, many people and organisations were mobilised to disseminate these booklets. Within cities like Amsterdam not only established booksellers and hawkers were involved, but also institutional distributors such as apprentices, mail carriers, members of the civil guard and public servants. Almanacs, in particular, were widely distributed in towns as New Year's gifts. Public servants and pedlars could bear the responsibility for the distribution of almanacs in towns, between towns, and from town to countryside.⁷⁶

In addition to seasonal products such as almanacs, kings' letters ['koningsbrieven'] and New Years' prints, other topical publications such as songs, lampoons and libels were distributed by occasional pedlars. Willem Martinij, Ambrosius Buna and Matthias Point, servants of Amsterdam bookseller Jean de Riberolles, disseminated seditious pamphlets in 1671, probably on the orders of their master.⁷⁷ In the 1780s milkman Cornelis van Dam was accused of hawking the Orangist *Na-courant* [Follow-up newspaper] just outside the Hogewoerd city gate of Leiden.⁷⁸ Libels might also be spread in handwritten form without particular commercial intent. In 1618 Englishman Willem Grinwold from Rochwith, an embroidery worker, lived in the house of Amsterdam tailor Eduwardt Jems; an ungrateful guest, Grinwold circulated a written lampoon about his host in the Amsterdam bourse.⁷⁹

In Utrecht a very specific form of occasional book distribution was performed by schoolmasters, who even in the seventeenth century, and probably earlier, functioned as intermediaries between city booksellers and their pupils. The local booksellers' guild considered the schoolmasters' involvement illegal.⁸⁰ Similarly, ministers occasionally organised the dissemination of Bibles.⁸¹ In Utrecht, as in Amsterdam, we also find occasional street sellers who had close ties with established booksellers. In

⁷⁶ Salman, *Populair drukwerk in de Gouden Eeuw*, pp. 299–312.

⁷⁷ GA Amsterdam, RA, *Kopieschoutsrol*, inv. no. 205, dd. 17-03-1671.

⁷⁸ Van Vliet, *Elie Luzac*, pp. 388–392.

⁷⁹ GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 291, fol 169, 29-3-1618.

⁸⁰ K. Forrer, 'Drie ordonnanties van het Utrechtse Boekdrukkersgilde', *Jaarboek Oud Utrecht* (2006), p. 114: 'Schoolmeesters boekverkoop verboden als buitenstaanders' (19-05-1600); 'Boekverkopers mogen niet aan schoolmeesters leveren' (10-04-1607). See also Forrer, 'Drie ordonnanties', Appendix 1: 'Ordonnantie' [Ordinance] 1653, art. XV.

⁸¹ The Bible pedlar Johannes van 't Lindenhout recounted in his autobiography that in Harderwijk the minister took charge of the distribution of Bibles, ordering two men to go door to door daily. Van 't Lindenhout, *Na vijf-en-twintig jaren*, p. 107.



Fig. 3.1. A pedlar with a seasonal product. A. Pauwels after A. van Diepenbeeck, *Koningskroonverkoper* [Seller of kings' letters]. In Antoine de Bourgogne, *Mundi lapis lydius* (Antwerp, Jan Cnobbaert, 1639). Antwerp, City Library: C 111607 [C2-554 c].

1697 instead of teaching her young apprentice typesetting, the widow of Jurriaan van Poolsum ordered him to deliver newspapers; she had to stop doing so, however, because of the strong objections of the boy's father.⁸²

A temporary job as a street seller was sometimes the only way to escape poverty. The Utrecht archives of the social welfare activities of the Gereformeerde Diakonie [Reformed diaconate] contain telling examples for the eighteenth century. In 1746 a ten-year-old daughter of Sara van Hattum earned 6 stivers per week by selling newspapers on the streets of

⁸² Utrechts archief, SA II, Ambachtskamer, inv. no. 1852, Notulen Stads Ambachtskinderhuis, dd. 02-06-1697.

Utrecht. She contributed part of her family's income, which included Sara van Hattum's own small earnings and those of her fourteen-year-old son (no father is mentioned). Sara van Hattum received 2 to 10 stivers per week from the Reformed diaconate.⁸³

One subcategory of occasional bookseller is formed by those who turned to selling print as an alternative to another occupation. Egbert Koning, a pedlar from Spanbroek whom we encountered in chapter 1, Amsterdam ballad singer Kees Meijer and Bible pedlar Johannes 't Lindenhout all fit this category: Koning returned to peddling when other endeavours failed; Meijer considered himself best suited to ballad singing; 't Lindenhout abandoned farm work because he saw Bible peddling as his calling.

Pedlars with Books and Other Wares

Pedlars in the second category sold printed matter as well as other goods, a mixing of merchandise that was typical of traditional pedlars.⁸⁴ In the Dutch sources the designation 'marskramer' [pedlar] usually refers to a travelling merchant who used the city as his base but travelled around the surrounding countryside. The term 'omloper' [crier or pedlar] is used for a street seller who sold only within the city. 'Omloper' appears far more frequently than 'marskramer' in the Amsterdam criminal records. Unfortunately, for Amsterdam we lack other sources, such as records of licenses, permits and patents.

Pedlars who travelled the countryside often sold books as one product among many. They bought their stock in the city and then went from village to village in rural areas. Because of the long distances involved, they were not able to refresh their stock frequently. They might store their wares at inns or taverns temporarily to be able to travel without carrying all their merchandise with them. In general, long-distance pedlars avoided topical material such as pamphlets and newspapers and preferred commodities with a steady market, such as schoolbooks, Bibles, almanacs and history books.

Abraham Benjamins, a Jewish pedlar, stated in 1724 that he carried a pack with 'Fransche cramerij' [French pedlar wares] comprising combs, glasses and almanacs. He travelled from Amsterdam to, among other

⁸³ Utrechts archief, SAIV, *Diaconie der Hervormde Gemeente te Utrecht*, inv. no. 685, Letter S, fol. 1, dd. 02-09-1746.

⁸⁴ This regular kind of pedlar was a common sight in Antwerp in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; see Van Damme, *Verleiden en verkopen*, p. 73.

places, Muiderberg.⁸⁵ Pedlars with such diverse merchandise were less likely to be found selling within an urban context. Only 12 of the 175 pedlars I have traced in Amsterdam combined the sale of printed matter and other goods,⁸⁶ and the majority of these pedlars were selling stolen property. All-round pedlars were not necessarily absent from towns and cities, but it is unlikely that they were able to compete legally with local retailers.

In 1770 Amsterdam booksellers pointed with disapproval at pedlars who carried not only printed matter in their boxes but also luxuries such as cuffs, earrings and snuffboxes.⁸⁷ Egbert Koning, who worked in north Holland and combined haberdashery with printed matter, can be seen as representative of the type frowned upon by the Amsterdam booksellers.⁸⁸

An interesting case is provided by Mathijs van Mordechay Cohen, who was arrested and taken to the provincial court of Holland in 1768, charged with a serious crime. Cohen had not only pornographic works in his pack but also homemade condoms and dildos. He also offered walking sticks, buttons and buckles and would barter goods in exchange for food. He had bought his books from a bookbinder in the Pijlsteeg in Amsterdam, but we do not know where he obtained his other goods.⁸⁹ In court, he explained that peddling was his only means of supporting his wife and six children.⁹⁰ Pierre Granpre's activities were similar to those of Mordechay Cohen, for he also sold a combination of pornographic works and condoms, in The Hague in 1758, although Granpre focussed on the sale of books.⁹¹

At least 16 of the 25 pedlars recorded in the administrative records of Utrecht licensing after 1760 combined books with other goods (see table 3.10). In 1789 Johannes Krul received permission from the court of

⁸⁵ GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 382, fol. 21, dd. 10-03-1724.

⁸⁶ Sometimes the court records refer to a 'kramer met een mars' [a pedlar with a pack], without specifying the goods carried.

⁸⁷ *Nieuwe Nederlandsche jaerboeken* [...] vol. 5 (1770), pp. 798, 806, 842.

⁸⁸ *Ware beschrijving*, pp. 22, 63, 75, 77. See chapter 1 on this work. See a description from ca. 1715 of a Frisian pedlar with a range of luxury goods such as perfume, tooth powder, writing paper, as well as almanacs: G.A. Brongers, *Pijpen en tabak*, Bussum 1964, p. 42.

⁸⁹ Many prostitutes lived and worked in the Pijlsteeg and the adjoining Halsteeg, where there were also gambling houses and music theatres. Pornographic merchandise could likely be found there. Frijhoff en Prak, *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam*, vol. 2.2, p. 287.

⁹⁰ Kleerkooper and Van Stockum, *De boekhandel te Amsterdam*, vol. 1, pp. 31–33. Taken from Verkruijsse, *De marskramer* (1994), p. 93; National archive, RAZH, Hof van Holland, *Criminele papieren*, inv. no. 5493.16.

⁹¹ National archive, RAZH, Hof van Holland, *Criminele papieren*, inv. no. 5471.3, dd. 14-02-1758, 15-02-1758.

Utrecht to travel the surrounding countryside with children's books and schoolbooks, as well as figurines, small images, combs, linen and yarn.⁹² Other peddlars combined the sale of books with the sale of stockings, handkerchiefs, writing paper, sealing wax, perfume and snuff.

Utrecht peddlars did not always sell the same items. Marie Hoijat sold schoolbooks, yarn, tape and pins in 1789 but two years later sold schoolbooks exclusively. Several peddlars travelled together with relatives (husbands, wives, sisters) who were also peddlars or offered another service. Hoijat's first husband, Jean Papon, was a travelling knife grinder; after 1794 she travelled together with her second husband, Gijsbert van Montfoort, who had books and haberdashery in his pack. In 1803 Hoijat added prayer books to her assortment.⁹³

Ten of the 20 rural peddlars recorded in table 3.10 lived in the Koestraat in Utrecht, near the Vredeburch market, one of the poorer areas of the city. They travelled in all seasons but preferred the summer, when the days were longer and the weather better.⁹⁴ In spring and summer, however, they could also work in the fields. Hendrikje van der Helm and Willemijntje Kramaat, for instance, travelled the countryside with their history books, sagathy and string during the winter of 1763.⁹⁵

The combination of printed matter and textiles that was frequent in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was less common in the Netherlands, although some peddlars ignored the fact that it was illegal to sell a combination of second-hand clothes and books in urban areas.⁹⁶ The booksellers' guilds of Leiden, Utrecht and Amsterdam protested against sellers of second-hand clothes who added books to their stock.⁹⁷ In Amsterdam in 1670, Jan van Lamsvelt used the sale of second-hand clothing as a subterfuge to cover up his illegal sale of books.⁹⁸ In Leiden in

⁹² Utrechts archief, Hof van Utrecht, inv. no. 135-1, 135-2, *Lijsten van personen*, dd. 10-12-1789.

⁹³ Utrechts archief, Hof van Utrecht, inv. no. 135-1, 135-2, *Lijsten van personen*, dd. 30-11-1789; 03-07-1792; 03-03-1794; 08-12-1795; 18-02-1803; 31-03-1804; 29-06-1807.

⁹⁴ As was the case with Orselina and Geertuid Corneli. Utrechts archief, Hof van Utrecht, inv. no. 135-1, 135-2, *Lijsten van personen*, dd. 12-05-1764 up to and including 19-06-1785.

⁹⁵ Utrechts archief, Hof van Utrecht, inv. no. 135-1, 135-2, '*Lijsten van personen*', dd. 15-09-1763.

⁹⁶ Spufford, 'Drukwerk voor de armen', pp. 74-75. See also De Vries, *From peddlars to textile barons* and Panhuysen, *Maatwerk*.

⁹⁷ For examples in the Southern Netherlands: R. Foncke, 'Losse aantekeningen betreffende boeckbinders en -handelaars van Oud-Mechelen', *Het boek* 7 (1918), p. 13. See also Verkruijsse, *De marskramer* (1994), p. 44.

⁹⁸ Van Eeghen, *De gilden*, pp. 65-66.

Table 3.10 Utrecht pedlars licensed for selling wares in the rural area of the province of Utrecht, 1763–1807.

Name	Residence	Dates of known activity	Types of printed matter	Other goods
Willemijntje Kramaat	Utrecht	1763	history books	sagathy*, string
Hendrikje van den Helm	Utrecht	1763	history books	sagathy, string
Adrianus Blom	Harmelen	1763	books	combs, glasses, yarn, ribbon
Orselina Corneli	Utrecht	1764–1785	schoolbooks; children's books	toy windmills, yarn, tape, sagathy
Geertruij Corneli	Utrecht	1764–1785	schoolbooks; children's books	toy windmills; yarn, tape, sagathy
Jacques le Maitre	Unknown	1766	schoolbooks	toy windmills; rags
Antonia de la Maitre	Unknown	1768	schoolbooks	toy windmills
Elizabeth Kamp	Unknown	1786	almanacs; children's books; schoolbooks, history books	yarn, tape, pins, needles, balls of wool, sagathy, combs, glasses, crochets
Johannes Krul	Utrecht	1789	children's books; schoolbooks	figurines, yarn and tape, pins and needles, combs and glasses
Levie Meyer	Maarssen	1789	almanacs	wool, sagathy, yarn, tape

(Continued)

Table 3.10 (Cont.)

Name	Residence	Dates of known activity	Types of printed matter	Other goods
Marie Hoiijat	Utrecht	1789–1803	schoolbooks; children's books; church books	yarn, pins, tape, sagathy
Hendrik van der Heijden	Utrecht	1790–1796	prints; children's books; schoolbooks; books	combs; glasses
Francijntje Temme	Utrecht	1793–1796	prints; books	combs; glasses
Johanna Sophia Biertempel	Utrecht	1794–1796	children's books	Rosaries
Gijsbert van Montfoort	Utrecht	1794–1805	schoolbooks; children's books; church books; prints	yarn, tape, sagathy, glasses, string
Dirk Veenendaal	Unknown	1798	books	yarn, tape

Source: Utrechts archief, Hof van Utrecht, inv. no. 135-1, 135-2 *Lijsten van personen, aan wie vergund is hunne nering ten plattelande uit te oefenen 1763–1808*

* A fine twilled worsted fabric formerly used for clothes and curtains and similar to serge

1776, an individual called Reynierse, who sold second-hand clothes, was accused by the local booksellers' guild of selling books on his market stall.⁹⁹ Books and medicine were also sometimes combined, as was the case for seventeen-year-old Antje Jans, a young widow from Germany who travelled in Gelderland in the 1750s.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ GA Leiden, SAI, *Gerechtsdagboeken*, inv. no. 221, dd. 24-12-1776. See also a similar complaint by the Leiden booksellers' guild in 1775: *ibid.*, *Gerechtsdagboeken*, inv. no. 133, dd. 20-09-1775. I would like to thank Hannie van Goinga for sharing this information with me.

¹⁰⁰ Gelders Archief Arnhem [Archive of the province of Gelderland], Hof van Gelre en Zutphen, Criminele Procesdossiers, inv. no. 4614, dd. 15-10-1751, no. 9. Reference generously shared by Dorothee Sturkenboom.

Pedlars who sold a combination of printed wares and other goods were largely active in rural areas. Their printed material included not only traditional categories such as almanacs, religious works and history books but also more fashionable genres such as children's books and prints.

Pedlars with Printed Wares Exclusively

Bookstalls

A pedlar who sold only printed matter would typically have a market stall near the town hall, on a bridge or in some other public location or might be a travelling trader with only a basket or a barrow. In the first case the range of products could be wider and the books larger. The owners of bookstalls were closer in character to booksellers with a small shop than to travelling pedlars, but contemporary commentaries, legislation and the protests of booksellers' guilds often hold stallholders to be just as irregular and threatening as itinerant traders. Established booksellers might have both a shop and a market stall and require a servant to run the market stall, as was the case for Willem Luycas, who was in service with the Utrecht bookseller Esdras Willemsz Snellaert in the years 1632 to 1634 and visited several different cities with the stall.¹⁰¹ The well-to-do bookseller Lenaert Dierts (Diericks) van Tetrode had a bookstall in the Leiden town hall about 1600, probably in the so-called Grote Pers [The Great Hall], and at the same time owned a shop in the city of Gouda. He also operated bookstalls in Haarlem, in 1603, and at the Binnenhof in The Hague, in 1608.¹⁰² Stalls could become permanent fixtures within the urban landscape, comparable in this respect to bookshops. By 1695 two female bookstall holders at the Sparendammer burg [Spaarndam bridge] in Amsterdam had already spent twenty years at the same spot, selling books that were priced below one guilder.¹⁰³ The status of a bookstall differed, however, from that of a bookshop: the former was a more public selling point and

¹⁰¹ In 1633 Luycas confessed that the books had been stolen from his stall in Harderwijk. Utrechts archief, NA, inv. no. U 026a001, dd. 09-06-1636.

¹⁰² In The Hague it was uncommon for booksellers from outside the city to rent a stall on the Binnenhof. D. van Heel, *De Goudse drukkers en hun uitgaven*. 12 vols, Gouda 1951–1953, vol. 4, pp. 13–14; E.F. Kossmann, *De boekverkoopers, notarissen en cramers op het Binnenhof*, The Hague 1932, pp. 77, 78, 194. For other examples see pp. 183, 191, 196. See also J.G.C.A. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570–1630*, Nieuwkoop 1974, p. 65. I would like to thank Garrelt Verhoeven and Paul Hoftijzer for bringing Tetrode to my attention.

¹⁰³ Kleerkooper and Van Stockum, *De boekhandel te Amsterdam*, vol. 1, p. 314. See Verkruijsse, *De marskramer* (1994), p. 48.



Fig. 3.2. A bookstall on a market about 1800. The drawing is attributed to the (fictitious) D. Veelvraat. The caption reads, 'By 't scheiden van de markt leert men de koopliën kennen' [You know who your friends are when the chips are down]. In S.A. Fokke, *Het Hollandsche Spreekwoord*. Amsterdam, A.B. Saakes, 1807. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet: Collectie Emmering.

appealed to a more socially diverse audience; bookshop customers were usually from the middle classes or higher and were often well informed about the stock.¹⁰⁴

There appear to have been commercial benefits in locating a bookstall in the vicinity of bookshops. The topography of shops in Amsterdam in 1742 described by the social-economic historian Clé Lesger shows that bookshops were often concentrated in the city centre. Books were a durable, relatively expensive and infrequently acquired commodity, and consumers wanted to be able to compare prices, quality and appearance. Locating their bookshops close to other bookshops was therefore one way for shop owners to attract buyers.¹⁰⁵ And in turn, bookstall holders who sought to compete with the bookshops needed to trade from locations not too far from the main bookshops, on crucial crossroads, or near bridges,

¹⁰⁴ Van den Heuvel made an interesting distinction between the merchant office, the shop and the stallholder in which the last was the most public form. Van den Heuvel, *Women and entrepreneurship*, p. 34.

¹⁰⁵ C. Lesger, 'De locatie van het Amsterdamse winkelbedrijf in de achttiende eeuw', *Tijdschrift voor sociale en economische geschiedenis* 4 (2007), pp. 39–41.

locks and market squares. For this reason the Dam was a popular spot for stallholders. Bookseller G. Struys and his son Hendrik had a bookstall here in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹⁰⁶

In the eighteenth century, bookstalls became a growing nuisance in Amsterdam and the booksellers' guild repeatedly developed new measures that they hoped would eliminate them. In 1752 a servant of the guild was ordered to remove all the street sellers from bridges, locks and 'schuytstallen' [boat houses]. When five offenders refused to move, the servant, with some helpers, was allowed to load the content of their stalls onto a cart and transport the illegal goods to the guild's office. After paying a penalty of three guilders, three of the bookstall owners received their stock back. The other two were less fortunate: their books were sold at public auction and the proceeds went to the booksellers' guild. The illegal bookstalls did not disappear, however. In 1756 and 1757, Barbara Brink and A. Merken were again confronted with the strong arm of the booksellers' guild.¹⁰⁷ Barbara Brink had tried to extend her bookstall with two additional stalls. The guild ordered her to reduce her business to just one stall, near to her own home. She does not appear to have heeded their instructions, as in 1759 she was charged again with the same offence.¹⁰⁸

In 1757, Amsterdam bookseller Gerrit Bom brought a charge against second-hand dealer Willem van den Berg for selling more than the permitted number of books; Van den Berg promised the booksellers' guild he would mend his ways.¹⁰⁹ In 1773 three bookstall holders, H. Bos, S. Hartman and (Willem?) van den Berg were accused of selling under-priced books.¹¹⁰ In 1765, the Amsterdam booksellers' guild complained that 'nowadays the number of market stalls is easily the same as that of bookshops'. The guild referred in vain to the regulation that stated that the sale of books, newspapers, news sheets or songs on markets, bridges or streets, or at the bourse or in other public places was strictly prohibited.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ Hendrik appears not to have been a very law-abiding bookseller, because he was convicted of theft in 1809 and 1810. GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 525, pp. 58, 108, 124, 127; inv. no. 629, p. 75. Database Faber no. 52.

¹⁰⁷ GA Amsterdam, *Archief van de gilden en het brouwerscollege*, inv. no. 192, 'Aantekeningen van de gildeknecht van het boekdrukkers- en verkopersgilde'.

¹⁰⁸ GA Amsterdam, *Archief van de gilden en het brouwerscollege*, inv. no. 52, 'Notulen gehouden bij de overluysen', dd. 18-08-1756. Baggerman, *Een lot uit de loterij*, p. 91.

¹⁰⁹ Baggerman, *Een lot uit de loterij*, p. 91.

¹¹⁰ These booksellers could acquire their stock by means of so-called *Plamootauctiën*, auctions of second-hand and new books. See Van Goinga, *Alom te bekomen*, p. 181.

¹¹¹ [Koning], *De ongelukkige levensbeschrijving van een Amsterdammer*, pp. 86, 236.

Monitoring and controlling stallholders was even more difficult than suppressing pedlars and ballad singers because many stallholders and suppliers of stalls were shop owners and guild members themselves. In 1800 the Amsterdam publisher Johannes Allard faced the protests of colleagues because he paid his debtors with books while he knew that these same books were sold on bookstalls at lower prices.¹¹² In some locations within the city, the sale of books from a stall was legal, although this status seems to be restricted to the sale of second-hand or old books. In 1757, a shopping arcade was opened at the gate of the Oudemanshuis [Old Men's House], which leased stalls that were supervised by the regents of the house. Books were available alongside luxury items such as gold, silver and Nuremberg wares. The trade ended in 1831, when the Oudemanshuis became a cholera hospital. In 1876, the city council decided to re-establish the stalls in order to restore the trade in used books.¹¹³

Before 1876, used books had been sold at the Botermarkt (now Rembrandt Square) near the Regulierbreestraat, in an area known as the Devil's Corner, the Amsterdam equivalent of Grub Street in London.¹¹⁴ A weekly butter market was held at the Botermarkt, and in September each year, it was the site of the most important annual fair in Amsterdam.¹¹⁵ The square was at the heart of a relatively poor area with small streets and alleys, inns, bars, small theatres, brothels, shops and a high crime rate. It was a place for beggars and rogues, but also for street sellers.¹¹⁶ Books had been sold at the Botermarkt since the eighteenth century with the sanction of the local government, who decreed which goods were to be sold at markets and fairs.¹¹⁷ Bookstalls could be found at the Botermarkt almost every day of the week; on Mondays, during the large weekly butter market, the bookstalls withdrew to a small corner of the square.¹¹⁸

¹¹² Baggerman, *Een lot uit de loterij*, p. 93.

¹¹³ Vis, 'The book trade in the Poort', pp. 115–117.

¹¹⁴ For discussion of the Devil's Corner and its English comparison see my article, J. Salman, 'Grub Street in Amsterdam? Jacobus (I) van Egmont, the Devil's Corner and the literary underground in the eighteenth century', *Quaerendo* 42 (2012), pp. 134–157.

¹¹⁵ Amsterdam had three fairs, or annual markets, but that held in September on the Botermarkt was the most important. The fair lasted 21 days for those who were resident in Amsterdam and 14 days for those who came from outside the city. See A. Halberstadt, 'Botermarkt en Kaasplein', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 8 (1910), pp. 171–172.

¹¹⁶ Egmont, *Op het verkeerde pad*, pp. 190–191; Frijhoff and Prak, *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam*, vol. 2.2, pp. 285–286; Van Vliet, 'Klein Jan', pp. 26–35.

¹¹⁷ Halberstadt, 'Botermarkt en kaasplein', p. 168.

¹¹⁸ Van Maurik, 'Een wandeling op het Amstelveld', pp. 15, 20; Vis, 'The book trade', pp. 117–119.



Fig. 3.3. J.F.D. Kok, Bookstalls and print sellers on the Amsterdam Botermarkt [Buttermarket], viewed in eastern direction, ca. 1850, drawing. The entrance to the Amstelstraat is in the middle of the scene. Amsterdam, Stadsarchief: 010097010403.

There are no descriptions or illustrations of the bookstalls on the Botermarkt in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and we therefore have to rely on nineteenth century sources. In that period, there were two rows of used-bookstalls between the Utrechtse Straat and the Waag (the weigh house, which was opposite the Reguliersbreestraat). In the evening the stalls had to be cleared, and the books would be stored in crates. Some stalls owners lived on the Botermarkt itself.¹¹⁹

The Botermarkt was very near the Jewish district and the owners of the second-hand bookstalls were mostly Jews. The booksellers who dominated the trade in second-hand books also lived in the vicinity of the square. Moses Penha (1820–1894) lived on the south side near the Utrechtsestraat, Henri Smit (1817–1886) in the corner on the west side near the Bakkerstraat and Mordechai Jessurun Lobo (1826–1899) on the east side near the Reguliersdwarstraat. These booksellers were often related to one another and some had a long history of bookselling. Mordechai Jessurun Lobo's father, Benjamin Jessurun Lobo (1792–1867), had started selling books on the Botermarkt in the eighteenth century. Benjamin's

¹¹⁹ This situation was described by Henri Polak in 1936 in his *Amsterdam die groote stad* [...]. Vis quotes Polak in 'The book trade in the Poort', pp. 117–119.

father Jacob Jessurun Lobo (1754–1824) began selling books after the financial crisis in 1763. His family were among the rich Portuguese Jews who arrived in Amsterdam in the seventeenth century. For Henri Smit the book trade was a means of climbing the social ladder, but for the Lobo and Penha families it was a step down.¹²⁰

According to A. Halberstadt, writing in 1910, not only students, but also book and print collectors from all over the country were very interested in this market for second-hand books. He considered the booksellers' location at the Botermarkt unique not only in the Netherlands, but also internationally.¹²¹ When Hans Christian Andersen stayed in Amsterdam in 1866, he visited the Botermarkt, where he strolled along the stalls of old books.¹²² In 1876, despite the petitioning of both stallholders and customers, the Botermarkt became Rembrandtplein in the course of an urban beautification project.¹²³ The weekly butter market was moved to the Amstelveld and the book market to Oudemanshuis Poort, discussed above.¹²⁴

The Utrecht annual fair was an opportunity for booksellers from Utrecht and further afield to sell books and prints on rented stalls. From 1614 onwards, the fair took place on the Mariaplaats, starting on 22 July and lasting 20 days. Between 1642 and 1658, merchants were permitted to place their stalls in the collegiate church itself. In the 1670s, stallholders with books and prints became permanently located under the arches of the church.¹²⁵ In the 1780s and 1790s, print sellers and booksellers from outside Utrecht also set up stalls at other locations, such as the Oud munster Kerkhof, which would later be known as the Domplein,¹²⁶ and at Maria Plaats 'op 't Pleijn tusschen de Bomen' [on the square between the trees].¹²⁷ The most sheltered spot at the last location was reserved for

¹²⁰ Vis, 'The book trade in the Poort', pp. 117–119.

¹²¹ Halberstadt, 'Botermarkt en Kaasplein', p. 170. Quoted in Vis, 'The book trade in the Poort', p. 119.

¹²² H. Reeser, trans. and comm., 'Het dagverhaal van H.C. Andersens bezoeken aan Amsterdam', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 59 (1967), p. 167.

¹²³ P.A. van der Linden Vooren, 'Rembrandtsplein en Amstelstraat', *Ons Amsterdam* 7 (1955), pp. 50–53; L. Jansen, 'De geschiedenis van het marktwezen', *Ons Amsterdam* 11 (1959), p. 310.

¹²⁴ Vis, 'The book trade in the Poort', p. 120.

¹²⁵ Baggerman, *Een lot uit de loterij*, p. 92; G.A. Evers, 'Boek en prentverkoopers op de Utrechtse kermis', *Bibliotheekleven* 2 (1917), pp. 311–315.

¹²⁶ One such seller was Johan Tessaro from Maastricht, who sold his fine prints at the Oudmunster Kerkhof in 1790. Utrechts archief, SAII, *Lijsten van de plaatsen der tenten en kramen op de kermis* [List of the locations of stalls and stands on the fair], inv. no. 534, 1790, fol. 3.

¹²⁷ Itinerant print seller Adam Fietta could be found at Maria Plaats in 1789. Utrechts archief, SAII, *Lijsten van de plaatsen der tenten en kramen op de kermis*, inv. no. 534, 1789, fol. 11; 1790.

Utrecht bookseller and guild member Arend Stubbe and later for his widow.¹²⁸ Two other bookstalls were rented to booksellers from outside Utrecht, to Schouten (whose first name and hometown are unknown) and Michel Seubert from The Hague.¹²⁹ According to nineteenth-century patent registers, these stallholders with books had achieved a certain standing in the book trade. Stallholder Pieter van Leeuwen from Leiden, for example, visited markets and fairs with his covered bookstall in the period 1816 to 1840.¹³⁰

Travelling Booksellers

Just as the differences between shop owners and stallholders were small, so too are clear distinctions between itinerant stallholders and travelling book pedlars without a stall difficult to make. We do not know, for example, what exactly was meant by *kraam* [stall] when it is used in our sources. The term may refer to a basket or box carried on the pedlar's back and used to display books on the street. We therefore place within the category of travelling book pedlars, traders who moved from place to place carrying their wares on their backs, be it by means of a small basket or a large pack. One of the earliest examples for the period covered by this study can be found in the administrative records kept by Deventer bookseller Simon van Steenberg in 1596. Several pedlars from the district of Twente and the cities of Zutphen and Utrecht visited Van Steenberg to acquire almanacs, prognostications and schoolbooks to add to their packs, which likely contained only printed wares.¹³¹ The sources are sometimes equivocal. In a court record from 19 January 1624, Maerten Matheus from Geertruidenberg was called a 'liedjesverkoper' [ballad seller]. Matheus was banned from Rotterdam, however, for hawking not only songs but also scandalous books¹³² and should therefore perhaps be identified as a travelling pedlar with books and not as a specialist trader who sold songs. Another ambiguous example is provided by the bookseller/pedlar Ter Moey from Dordrecht, who was described as a pedlar with a pack in 1751

¹²⁸ Utrechts archief, SAII, *ibid.*, inv. no. 534, 1789, fol. 34. See about the widow of Arend Stubbe, Van Alten, 'Het Utrechts boekbedrijf', p. 145.

¹²⁹ We do not know if these two also owned a bookshop. Utrechts archief, SAII, *Lijsten van de plaatsen der tenten en kramen op de kermis*, inv. no. 534, 1785, fol. 16; 1786, fol. 15; 1790, fol. 15; 1790, fol. 6. Seubert is not listed in the *Thesaurus*.

¹³⁰ GA Leiden, SAIII, *Register van patentplichtigen 1816–1894*, inv. no. 2043, no. 737; inv. no. 2066, 1839–1840, nos. 31, 9; 32, 1.

¹³¹ GA Deventer, RA, inv. no. 156 **. *Account made after the death of Simon Steenberg in on 27 October 1596*.

¹³² Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, p. 178.

but is known to have published at least one book. The fact that he travelled with a pack suggests that he sold both in Dordrecht and at a distance from the city. It is surprising that he was not carrying small books or cheap prints but a substantial work entitled *Naamlyst van nieuw uitgekome en herdrukte boeken* [...] [List of newly published and reprinted books], which had been published in Gorinchem by Nicolaas Goetzee in 1741.¹³³ These travelling booksellers could also supply shops. As early as 1631 a pedlar, Willem Dircks, sold books in Amsterdam that he offered for sale not only on the streets but also to binders and to booksellers such as Paulus Aertsz van Ravesteyn.¹³⁴

Several book pedlars remained within the city limits of Amsterdam. Gijsbert Vroom was active as a pedlar within this city for nearly a decade (1689–1698) at least. Peddling was not, however, his only source of income as Vroom, who called himself a ‘book pedlar’, was also involved in theft and robbery.¹³⁵ Pedlars might combine such activities by selling stolen books.¹³⁶ In the late 1690s, Dorithie Matthijs supplemented her income as a pedlar by thieving; pedlar Lysbeth Jansz was also a prostitute.¹³⁷ A group of local pedlars in Amsterdam specialised in Catholic books. Catholic lay sisters, known as *klopjes*, had stalls and small shops near Catholic churches; Hendrikje Kool distributed theological, historical and literary works and Catholic prayer books and devotional works in 1697.¹³⁸ In 1736 Anna Keijser, Maria de Vries and Alida Liefing, who were probably all *klopjes*,

¹³³ See *Book Sales Catalogues*, IDC-cat. 3117 (www.bibliopolis.nl). The *Naamlyst* contains a publisher's list and a list of the booksellers where this title was available. We read there, ‘der Moey, reisende met de Kraam’. [Ter Moey, travelling with a pedlar's pack].

¹³⁴ Dircks offered a book about bookkeeping. Kleerkooper and Van Stockum, *De boekhandel te Amsterdam*, vol. 2, p. 1437; Verkruijsse, *De marskramer* (1994), pp. 28–32. GA Amsterdam, NA, inv. no. 403, fols. 422/423.

¹³⁵ GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 335, fol. 21, 08-09-1689; inv. no. 337, fol. 165; dd. 16-01-1692, fol. 166; dd. 17-01-1692; fol. 169, 25-01-1692; fol. 170, dd. 25-01-1692. Database Faber no. 162; inv. no. 338, fol. 215, 21-01-1693; inv. no. 341, fol. 49, dd. 16-10-1694; inv. no. 347, fols. 125, dd. 21-12-1698.

¹³⁶ An example is Jacob Pieters de Vries, a sailor, who had stolen books from a bookstall in 1724; see GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 382, fol. 139, dd. 16-12-1724. Matthijs Henderik Muller sold books and letters on the street, but told his interrogator that he was actually a hunter; see GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 381, dd. 07-10-1723.

¹³⁷ GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 344, fol. 219r, dd. 01-11-1697; fol. 221. And GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 345, fol. 59v, dd. 13-01-1698; fol. 61v, dd. 14-01-1698.

¹³⁸ Catholic ‘klopjes’ were lay sisters who went to parishioners to call them for Mass; see P. Hoftijzer, ‘Women in the early modern Dutch book trade’, in S. van Dijk et al. (eds), *Writing the history of women's writing. Towards an international approach*, Amsterdam 2001, p. 215.

were apprehended for selling Catholic books. It is possible that Lieftring was forced to become a member of the booksellers' guild that same year.¹³⁹ This specific segment of the street trade continued into the nineteenth century.¹⁴⁰

Mobility and a capacity to link urban and rural markets were important characteristics of book pedlars. Catalijn Jans came from The Hague and sold songs and small books in the streets of Amsterdam in 1653.¹⁴¹ Book pedlar Gerrit Jonker, from the Frisian city of Sneek, frequently went to Holland during the summer in the 1650s to stock up at the bookshops of Jan Jansz Borduer in Amsterdam and Jan Barentsz Smient in Dordrecht.¹⁴² Jacobus van Geluwe, who had been born in Delft, bought religious books in Emmerich in Germany and sold them on the streets of Amsterdam in 1657, covering an even longer distance.¹⁴³ In the 1650s a pedlar with all sorts of books, including music books, visited the printer Willem Breeckvelt in The Hague; this pedlar appears to have hawked in the city as well as the countryside.¹⁴⁴ Maria Bourtoil, the daughter of a French soldier, told a court in the province of Gelderland in 1786 that she travelled through the province selling books and poems.¹⁴⁵ It is striking that she limited her trade to printed material. Was the market for print in Gelderland large enough for her to make a living? Or did she perhaps not have to cover long distances to maintain her stock because of the good number of urban bookshops?

The licensing system in the province of Utrecht provides us with insight into itinerants' journeying between city and countryside, as a small group of pedlars with books can be traced in this register. The city of Utrecht was one of the few centres of book production in the province throughout

¹³⁹ Verkruysse, *De marskramer* (1994), Supplement, pp. 8, 15. UB Amsterdam, KVB, inv. no. 57, no. 74, dd. 04-04-1736; *ibid.*, dd. 28-03-1736; Van Goinga, *Alom te bekomen*, pp. 331–333.

¹⁴⁰ In 1801, for example, Zeger van Egmond sold 'publications'; see GA Amsterdam, RA, *Boekje De Melander*, 640a, dd. 26-02-1801. Database Faber no. 1801-032.

¹⁴¹ GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 309, fol. 157, dd. 31-05-1653.

¹⁴² Van Selm, "Almanacken, lietjes, en somwijl wat wonder, wat nieuws", p. 55; Verkruysse, *De marskramer* (1994), p. 59.

¹⁴³ Jacobus was the son of Arent van Geluwe, bookseller from Ghent. Father Arent was once apprehended in Delft for distributing controversial books. GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 312, fol. 10, dd. 09-10-1657.

¹⁴⁴ In Emmerik he bought fourteen copies of *De Gereformeerde Tour a la Mode*. Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, p. 108. This title was not in the STCN (www.stcn.nl) when accessed on 30-04-2013.

¹⁴⁵ Gelders Archief Arnhem, Hof van Gelre en Zutphen, Criminele Procesdossiers, inv. nos. 4668 and 4669, dd. 27-01-1786, no. 3. I would like to thank Dorothee Sturkenboom for this reference.

almost the whole period covered by this study; the only other source was Amersfoort, where small-scale book production started in the eighteenth century. The nine licensed pedlars who from the 1760s onwards travelled the countryside with books did not have to compete with many bookshops in their vicinity (see table 3.11). Five of these nine pedlars carried only one type of book and are therefore discussed in the next section, as 'specialists'. Joseph Lichthart, Jacobus van Schoor and Ignatius van Nes continued their sale of books for several years, which suggests that their efforts generated a reasonable income. They did not restrict their trade to steady sellers such as almanacs, prints, schoolbooks, history books and prayer books but also traded in the riskier new genres such as children's books and in topical works that required an immediate audience, such as newspapers and newsletters.¹⁴⁶

In the nineteenth century, the book pedlar's position became more formalised. As discussed in chapter 1, during the period of French rule the terms 'colporteur' and 'colporter' were frequently employed, and after the establishment of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the terms remained in use to denote pedlars who sold only printed matter. French surveys of 1811–1812 sought to register everyone involved in the book business and include a surely undercounted 33 colporteurs, among whom are four Amsterdam pedlars: Mozes Wolf, Marcus Barendt Bonn, Johannes in den Bosch and Hijman Ezechiël.¹⁴⁷

Nineteenth-century patent registers continued, however, to use the term 'marskramer' as a professional category. Although the patent registers for Amsterdam have not survived, those for Utrecht and Leiden provide us with additional information. The register for Utrecht records the female pedlar N. van Meebeek, who was described in 1840 as a 'domestic pedlar with booklets in a box'.¹⁴⁸ In the same period reference is also made to a 'foreign' pedlar who sold prints and maps.¹⁴⁹

Felip Andre Canongette was a remarkably mobile book pedlar. French by birth, Canongette used local inns as his principal selling points. In 1834 he established a firm on the Vijgendam in Amsterdam under the name

¹⁴⁶ For more about the new category of children's books, see: J. Salman, 'Children's books as a commodity. The rise of a new literary subsystem in the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic', *Poetics* 28 (2000), pp. 399–421.

¹⁴⁷ Dongelmans, *Van Alkmaar tot Zwijndrecht*, pp. 42, 43, 51, 84. See also www.bibliopolis.nl.

¹⁴⁸ 'Inlandsch kraamster met boekjes in een doos', Utrechts archief, SAIV, *Register van patentschuldige kramers etc.*, inv. no. 6151, dd. 1839–1840, no. 43.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, nos. 653, 700.

Table 3.11 Utrecht pedlars licensed for selling printed wares only in the rural area of the province of Utrecht, 1763–1807.

Name	Place	Years	Products
Joseph Lichthart	Utrecht	1791–1793	history books; prints; books
Pieter Buis	Utrecht	1792	children's books
Angenietje Maagdenburg	Utrecht	1792	children's books
Jacobus van Schoor	Utrecht	1792–1794	schoolbooks; children's books
Wife of Joseph Lichthart	Utrecht	1793	history books; prints
Johanna Smith	Utrecht	1794	schoolbooks
Joseph Groenendaal	Utrecht	1794	children's books
Ignatius van Nes	Utrecht	1798–1807	newspapers; newsletters; books
Willem Stamink	Utrecht	1806	songs

Source: Utrechts archief, Hof van Utrecht, inv. no. 135-1, 135-2 *Lijsten van personen, aan wie vergund is hunne nering ten plattelande uit te oefenen 1763–1808*

'Canongette & Co.'. For one month in 1840 he sold printed matter at the Gouden Leeuw, an inn in Utrecht. In the same year, he moved his merchandise, worth approximately 600 guilders, to an inn in Leiden.¹⁵⁰ His continued activity as a travelling bookseller from 1835 until 1849 gave cause for much protest. Because of his large supply, his extensive network and his strategic selling points, he was fearsome competition for local booksellers and especially those with French books. In 1835 sedentary booksellers complained in their journal *Nieuwsblad voor den boekhandel* about this French pedlar who was selling cut-price books and suggested that the king and government be informed of this abuse. Canongette presented himself without any restraint in newspaper advertisements as 'Director of the house of Canongette & Co. in Amsterdam and other large cities and the Dutch colonies'. He sent book lists throughout the country and travelled with a stall, selling remainders, pirated editions from Belgian suppliers and old unsuccessful books with new titles. His pricing was

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., no. 589.

attractive and he was quite successful for some years. He later combined book sales with the sale of office material and paper. Other booksellers do not appear to have had a ready response to this new unrestrained book trade in which Canongette played an ambiguous role somewhere between shop owner, stall owner and pedlar.¹⁵¹

Specialist Pedlars

This study categorises as 'specialists' pedlars who sold one type of printed material exclusively, such as printed news, penny prints, schoolbooks, songs or almanacs. Printed news is an umbrella term for material such as newspapers, libels, mercuries, lampoons and journals, which have strong similarities and therefore can usefully be examined together. Among these specialists, three particular groupings are deserving of particular attention in light of their greater numerical presence: ballad sellers, news sellers and print sellers. The distinction between songs and news is somewhat arbitrary, for songs often contained news just as did newspapers, and ballads often had political content as did libels and lampoons. During the Twelve Years Truce (1609–1621) ballad singers Adriaen Jans and Rutger Huygens were sentenced by the court of Holland for singing and selling political songs.¹⁵² But songs also had a particular character, because they disseminated their contents orally, that justifies their separate treatment.

Ballad Sellers and Singers

Ballad singers were the most familiar of the specialist street traders, but also the poorest. If a ballad singer was unable to scrape together a living by selling songs, the only remaining options were begging, theft and charity. Police interrogations provide the richest seam for information about their suppliers, trading places and the titles of their material.

As table 3.12 illustrates, ballad singers in Amsterdam were often itinerants. A large number of ballad singers were arrested for singing and selling songs in the street, which was forbidden in Amsterdam by statute. The often seditious or scandalous character of their songs aroused the distrust of the local authorities. Contrary to their opponents' claims, ballad sellers were not always incomers to Amsterdam, for a large proportion (at least 26 percent) came from the city. While some two thirds of all ballads

¹⁵¹ A.C. Kruseman, *Bouwstoffen voor een geschiedenis van den Nederlandschen boekhandel gedurende de halve eeuw 1830–1880*, Amsterdam 1886–87, pp. 223–224; *Nieuwsblad voor den Boekhandel* 2 (1835), no. 29, Wednesday 22 July, and no. 30.

¹⁵² Jans and Huygens were sentenced in 1615. Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, p. 68.

Table 3.12 Residence of ballad sellers in Amsterdam 1600–1850.

Residence	Ballad singers	As % of all ballad singers active in Amsterdam
Amsterdam	20	26.6
Probably Amsterdam*	7	9.3
Outside Amsterdam	33	44
Rotterdam	3	
Middelburg	3	
Groningen	2	
Vlissingen	2	
Antwerp	1	
Bommel	1	
Chartres?^	1	
Copenhagen	1	
Emden	1	
Emderland	1	
Enkhuizen	1	
Franckendael (Frankenthal in Pfalz?)	1	
Garding (Schleswig-Holstein)	1	
Gouda	1	
Haarlem	1	
Halter (Munster)	1	
Hoorn	1	
Kampen	1	
Leiden	1	
Lingen?^	1	
Onckel?^	1	
The Hague	3	
Uithoorn	1	
Wijk bij Duurstede	1	
Unknown	15	20
Total	75	

Source: Salman Database

*Some ballad singers in court records did not reveal their place of residence, but indirect evidence in these sources suggests that they lived in Amsterdam

^ The names are difficult to read in the archival sources

singers came from outside Amsterdam, only a relatively small group were not from the Dutch Republic, but from Germany, France and the Southern Netherlands. Unfortunately, we know little of these foreign ballad singers.¹⁵³ About 20 percent of the ballad singers could not (or did not want to) reveal a place of residence, and not all those who did give a place of residence were in fact resident there. Meijnsge Cristiaens confessed in 1655 that she lived in Gouda ‘and everywhere’.¹⁵⁴

Information recorded on the ballad singer’s arrest can provide details about the range of that singer’s trade, which could extend beyond the borders of the city. Stoffel Jans van Franckendael told the court in 1651 that he had visited a fair at The Hague before coming to Amsterdam.¹⁵⁵ And many others, especially those from outside Amsterdam, told the police that they also travelled the countryside with their songs, as was the case with Ariaentie Martens, who in 1670 had come from Bommel, beyond Rotterdam.¹⁵⁶

Within the city, ballad sellers searched for strategic locations such as squares, bridges and locks, again near bookshops. The Nieuwe Brug, for instance, was a very central spot near the Amsterdam harbour and ‘t Water’ (the current Damrak). A number of well-known bookshops were located here, selling maps and similar items. At the end of the seventeenth century, two female ballad singers sang and sold regularly on the Nieuwe Brug. In 1697, the *waterschout* [water police] wanted them chased from this important entrance into the city, for among other problems, they distracted captains. Their audience protested at the treatment of their favourite singers but could not prevent them from being banned from the city and one mile of it. This example suggests that such ballad singers were not only a source of inexpensive printed matter but also provided popular local entertainment.¹⁵⁷ They plied their trade in locations that were far more public than bookshops and were visited by people from all social

¹⁵³ One of the few examples is provided by the Englishman John Skinner, who was a boarding-school pupil in the Dutch village of Noordwijk for a few years. At a fair in The Hague in 1789, Skinner saw a ballad singer he termed a ‘Savoyard’ from France. Skinner’s account suggests that for a small sum the ballad singer would perform and have his brown bear dance. Skinner rhymes in his diary: ‘Entreats you’ll give poor Savoyar / A little trifle that you may/ See Bruine dance, and hear them play.’ Savoyards, from Savoy in France, were well known as travelling musicians with hurdy-gurdies and monkeys; see E. Wensing, ‘Sketching ‘midst Fogs. A selected and annotated edition of John Skinner’s Travels in Holland’, M.A. thesis, Leiden 1996, p. 116.

¹⁵⁴ GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 310, fol. 216, dd. 31-07-1655.

¹⁵⁵ GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 309, fol. 8, dd. 28-09-1651.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, inv. no. 319, fol. 122, dd. 20-03-1670; fol. 164, dd. 28-08-1670.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, inv. no. 345, fol. 22, dd. 16-12-1697; Dekker and Van de Pol “Wat hoort men niet al vreemde dingen”, pp. 487–488.

classes. Writing about the Rotterdam fair in the seventeenth century, Js. van Reyn noted around 1870 that ballad singers attracted 'distinguished people'.¹⁵⁸

The majority of the ballad singers in the criminal records (52 of the 75 noted in table 3.12) were accused of singing and selling songs on the street; 21 were arrested for other offences such as theft or violence. For a first offense, local ballad singers were punished with a fine (three to six guilders in the seventeenth century), whipped, or sent to a spinning house (a house of correction for women) or the rasp house (the house of correction for men). On being caught for a second time, they were banned from the city. Non-local ballad singers were treated more severely: they were banned after a first offence. The fact that ballad sellers often had no alternative means of making a living explains the relatively high number of recidivists: 14 of the 52 people who had been arrested for selling printed matter were rearrested, many of whom then committed the same crime again and also ignored their banishment from Amsterdam.¹⁵⁹

When widowed, women often found themselves faced with a choice between begging and ballad singing. Soldiers returning from war, sometimes wounded, and sailors without work faced the same situation.¹⁶⁰ Jan Leenderts of Amsterdam stated in 1673 that he had been an honest soldier under Captain Van der Stel. He had deserted the army without a passport and kept himself alive by selling songs.¹⁶¹ Antonij Sluijter, who became a ballad singer after he left the army, made his livelihood by ballad selling and stealing.¹⁶² Of the ballad singers arrested in Amsterdam, at least 42 were male and at least 31 female; the gender of two is unknown.

Collaboration between ballad singers took various forms. Some ballad singers who worked together were perhaps just business partners; some were related. When working together they usually served the same market, combining news with topical songs, for instance. Jacob Janknegt sold songs in Amsterdam in 1718, working together with his mother, who sold

¹⁵⁸ Quoted in Martin, 'De liedjeszanger als massamedium', p. 429.

¹⁵⁹ Sometimes ballad singing was an alternative to labour such as wool spinning, as was the case for Hester Jans in 1658. GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 312, fol. 173v, dd. 22-11-1658.

¹⁶⁰ The ballad singer Jeremia Isaacs Sel was a former sailor who was disabled. L. van der Pol, *Het Amsterdamse hoerdom. Prostitutie in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*, Amsterdam 1996, p. 333. GA, Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken* inv. no. 400, fols. 66v and 69v. Database Faber no. 25. I have also used information about Amsterdam ballad singers found in the database assembled by Ton Jongenelen, for which I would like to thank him.

¹⁶¹ GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 321, fol. 30, 19-04-1673.

¹⁶² GA Amsterdam, RA, *Justitieboek*, inv. no. 594, 29-1-1688/31-01-1688.



Fig. 3.4. A ballad seller singing his songs. Jan Both, *Het Gehoor*, 1625–1645, etching. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet: R.P.P. B I 4215.

newsletters on the street.¹⁶³ Criminal gangs generated another form of collaboration. Jannetgen Jacobs confessed in 1658 that she was a member of a group of ballad singers and burglars who had recently stolen black

¹⁶³ GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 376, dd. 17-03-1718.

damask from a silk shop in Akersloot.¹⁶⁴ Criminal gangs that included ballad singers were active throughout the Republic. In 1768 the court of Holland printed a list of 313 vagabonds, highwaymen and pickpockets who were suspected of criminal activities in Holland; this list included two ballad sellers, Jan de Liedjeszanger and Jan Dominikus.¹⁶⁵ Several eighteenth-century criminal gangs in the province of Brabant included ballad singers. The database *Dataschurk* records that ballad singers were accused of crimes such as robbery, vagabondage and prostitution.¹⁶⁶ Thieves and ballad singers were often bracketed together in police interrogations. In 1724 Johannes Dirksz of Amsterdam, alias Jan de Plug, was accused of adultery and of running away from his master. The interrogator asked him if he was perhaps nicknamed 'klijn Jantje' [Small John] or 'Dirck de Liedjeszanger' [Dirk the ballad singer].¹⁶⁷

The trial records of Jannetgen Jacobs are informative on another front, as Jacobs participated in the production of songs. In the 1650s, she commissioned an Amsterdam printing shop to print a specific song for her, which she then sold on the streets.¹⁶⁸ In 1704, several ballad sellers knocked on the door of the printing shop of Jacob Brouwer and demanded that he print a song or story about a certain Miss Dickhuijsen, who was punished by God with lice.¹⁶⁹ In 1699 ballad sellers Jacob de Boer and Claas Crook were convicted of making and selling songs.¹⁷⁰ On the occasions when a printer took the initiative in printing ballads, he made sure that street sellers were involved. The ballad seller Jeremia Sel was informed by a

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., inv. no. 312, fol. 166v–168, 176, 180v, 200, dd. 14-11-1658.

¹⁶⁵ National archive, RAZH, Den Haag, Hof van Holland, *Criminele Papieren*, inv. no. 5495.25, *Lyste der Misdaadige en suspecte personen* ..., dd. 07-05-1768.

¹⁶⁶ Arrested in Den Bosch in 1717, Jan Savrij (Schele-Jan of Jonge-Jan) (*Dataschurk, Criminele vonnissen van 's Hertogenbosch en de Meierij*, ca. 1550–1803, record 1072, dossier no. 099-20); in Den Bosch in 1755, Jan Tiebel (*Dataschurk*, record 1132, dossier no. 091-04); in Den Bosch in 1769, Brigitta Kwiks (*Dataschurk*, record 773, dossier no. 075-15); in Den Bosch in 1787, Francis 'de liedjeszanger' [ballad singer] (*Dataschurk*, record 214, dossier no. 139-10); in Den Bosch in 1757, Geertruij Weerts (*Dataschurk*, record 346, dossier no. 078-11); in Den Bosch Jacoba Paulisse Pol (1794, lived in Amsterdam) (*Dataschurk*, record 1335, dossier no. 095-05).

¹⁶⁷ J. Salman, 'De fictieve wereld en harde werkelijkheid van liedzangers en straat-verkopers', in 27/01/2008. *Opstellen ter gelegenheid van het afscheid van P.J. Verkruijsse*, ed. P. Dijkstra, Amsterdam 2008 (<http://issuu.com/bookhistory/docs/piet203>), pp. 330–337. See also GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 384, fol. 98, dd. 13-12-1725.

¹⁶⁸ GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 312, fol. 166v–168, 176, 180v, 200, dd. 14-11-1658.

¹⁶⁹ Verkruijsse, *De marskramer* (1994), p. 89. GA Amsterdam, NA, Notaris M. Lindouw, dd. 16-08-1704. This songbook is not found in the STCN.

¹⁷⁰ GA Amsterdam, *Kopieschoutsrol*, inv. no. 213, dd. 26-05-1699; 14-07-1699; 21-07-1699.

messenger sent by a local bookseller that scabrous prints were available in the bookseller's shop. This messenger subsequently supplied Sel with new material daily.¹⁷¹

Only four ballad singers appear in the Utrecht sources for the years 1688 to 1802. All four had been arrested for selling songs, and one also for selling news. One of these ballad singers was nineteen-year-old ex-soldier Gerardus Bos, who in 1750 came to Utrecht from The Hague to earn a few coins by singing. It is not clear whether Bos also sold printed songs, although many trial records suggest that singing and selling went together.¹⁷² Bos was banished from Utrecht.¹⁷³ This small number can hardly be considered representative of the extent of ballad singing in the Utrecht streets, but we know nothing of singers who had no criminal record. We can conclude, however, that street singers were not considered a particular public nuisance by the Utrecht police.

In Leiden, ballad selling was a regular street activity throughout the period covered by this study, but only two or three of the 15 ballad singers in Leiden of whom we know were from Leiden itself: they came instead from Amsterdam (4), Blokzijl (1) and (probably) Doetichem (1); the origins of six are unrecorded. One third of these 15 ballad singers were female. As in Amsterdam, most of the ballad sellers in Leiden were next to penniless and lived on the fringes of society. Some were involved in very serious crimes and had to face severe punishments; Cornelia Jans was punished with the pillory, whipping, branding, a stay in a house of correction and banishment.¹⁷⁴

Leiden ballad sellers often operated together. Oth Roeloffs probably worked with Thomas Sirxz in 1626. Roeloffs came from Blokzijl, in the eastern province of Overijssel and Sirxz from Amsterdam. Both were banned for three years from Leiden, the surrounding Rijnland, The Hague and The Hague shire.¹⁷⁵ Karel de Kok was accompanied by his wife

¹⁷¹ Van der Pol, *Het Amsterdamse hoerdom*, p. 333. GA, Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 400, 66v and 69v. Database Faber no. 25.

¹⁷² Female ballad singer Aaltje Jochems was arrested in 1802 in Utrecht for selling and singing ballads. Utrechts archief, SAIII, Archief van het Gerecht, *Manuaal van gevangenen en gedetineerden 1801-1807*, inv. no. 475, dd. 09-08-1802.

¹⁷³ Utrechts archief, SAII, *Criminele stukken*, inv. no. 2244-315, dd. 06-03-1750.

¹⁷⁴ This all happened to Cornelia Jans in 1728. She was convicted several times for theft. Her profession was – as she stated – 'liedjeszangeres' [ballad singer]. H.M. van den Heuvel, *Criminele vonnisboeken van Leiden, 1533-1811*, Leiden 1977-1978, p. 378, dd. 23-04-1728. This database is also available electronically at DANS, urn:nbn:nl:ui:13-diy-5uv.

¹⁷⁵ Van den Heuvel, *Criminele vonnisboeken van Leiden*, p. 163, dd. 03-02-1626. Dina Ariens and Jeanne vd Hofstadt were partners in 1693. *Ibid.*, p. 306, dd. 15-08-1693.

Geertrud van Wynbergen when in February 1703 he was picked up from the street for selling songs.¹⁷⁶ Hendrik van Deudecum (Doetinchem) was convicted in Leiden in 1718 for selling songs and for vagabondage, theft and begging; interrogation revealed that he had a partner, who is unknown.¹⁷⁷ In 1844 a Jewish couple, Annaatje Jacob Park and Elias Levy Stokvis, sold ballads in Leiden.¹⁷⁸

News Pedlars

A commentary in an eighteenth-century journal for merchants shows that booksellers in Amsterdam had greater regard for distributors of newspapers than for their fellow booksellers who sold trashy books and pamphlets.¹⁷⁹ The Orangist writer Johannes le Francq van Berkheij (1729–1812) praised the fact that around 1719 seditious pamphlets had given way to more accurate newspapers. In his *History van Holland* he writes that the Dutch people were tired of these 'blaauwboekjes' [seditious pamphlets], deceitful writings and libels, which were hawked in coffeehouses and bars.¹⁸⁰

The more positive attitude towards newspapers and other periodicals was a reflection of the generally neutral information that they disseminated. News about domestic politics and controversial and insulting messages about friendly nations and rulers were not permitted. There was a strong mutual dependency between newspaper publishers (often appointed by the city) and the street sellers who worked for them – the newsvendors not only guaranteed the regular delivery of newspapers but could also inform the producer about the interests of his readership.

In the seventeenth century, the circulation of newspapers in the larger Dutch cities formed a distinct aspect of the distribution of printed materials.¹⁸¹ In April 1674, the recently established booksellers' guild addressed a

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 326, dd. 10-02-1703.

¹⁷⁷ Pieter van de Plas, who was arrested in 1714 for deserting the army and for begging, also had an unidentified partner. He called himself a 'ballad singer'. Van den Heuvel, *Criminele vonnisboeken van Leiden*, p. 385, dd. 25-10-1718.

¹⁷⁸ W.F. Zegveld, *De Joden van Leiden*, 4 vols, Capelle aan den IJssel 1988, vol. 1, p. 33, no. 212.

¹⁷⁹ *De Koopman* (1775), p. 123.

¹⁸⁰ Cited in P. van Wissing, *Stokebrand Janus 1787*, Nijmegen 2003, p. 55. The original source is J. Le Francq van Berkheij, *Vriendentraanen, gestort bij het sterfbedde van mijnen geleerden boezemvriend Joan Christiaan Schultz* [...], Leiden 1778, p. 49.

¹⁸¹ One of the earliest examples is from 1650 and records a man selling 'couranten en nieuwe tijdingen' [newspapers and newsletters]. This anonymous man received his material from the Amsterdam bookseller Dirck Uittenbroek. GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 308, fol. 122v, dd. 09-08-1650.

protest to the Amsterdam magistrate that clearly distinguished between criers and hawkers, on one hand, and 'distributors of newspapers', on the other.¹⁸² The scattered evidence of itinerant distribution of printed news points to a large distribution network. The administrative records for the *Amsterdamsche courant* reveal, for instance, that a group of approximately 50 vendors were responsible for the distribution of the weekly newspaper in the city between 1767 and 1795.¹⁸³ Although most of these vendors cannot be traced in the archives, two are known by name. Aaltje Pieters worked in the service of the official city printer who produced the *Amsterdamsche courant*. She was paid 35 guilders in 1775, probably for delivering the newspaper each week, which means that she earned 70 cents (14 stivers) a week. Jan Rijkenberg also worked as a distributor, but he delivered outside the city and received 10 guilders a year.¹⁸⁴

Testimony to the close relationship between distributors of regular newspapers and their customers is provided by the printed 'Nieuwjaarswensen' [New Years' wishes] and 'Kermiswensen' [annual fair wishes], distributed by the 'Couranten-Ombrengers' [newsvendors] as a prompt to receive a gratuity; a practice still familiar today. In the 1740s these New Years' wishes were printed by G. de Groot in Amsterdam but other editions could also be obtained from many booksellers in Leiden, Haarlem, The Hague, Delft, Rotterdam, Dordrecht, Utrecht, Alkmaar, Hoorn and Gouda.¹⁸⁵ The *Nieuwjaarswens 1797, ombrenger couranten en domineesbriefjes* [New Years' wish 1797, vendor of newspapers and minister notes] published by Willem Coertse in Amsterdam is a typical example.¹⁸⁶ This practice was also common outside Amsterdam. The Groningen bookseller L. Huisinck (1758–1794) published such prints from the 1780s onwards, with titles such as *Liefde voor het Vaderland. Tot een Nieuwjaarwensch van de bestellers der boeken, weekbladen, en andere tijdschriften, uit de boekwinkel van L. HUISINCK* (1791) [For the love of my home country. As a New Years' wish from the deliverymen of books,

¹⁸² UB Amsterdam, KVB, inv. no. 62 11 E1/ B 56 (vanaf 29), dd. 28-04-1674. See also Verkruijsse, *De marskramer* (1994), pp. 66–69.

¹⁸³ Van Eeghen, 'De Amsterdamse courant in de achttiende eeuw', pp. 44–45.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹⁸⁵ Advertisement in *Leydsche courant* 1748, dd. 09-12-1748. I would like to thank Hannie van Goinga for this reference.

¹⁸⁶ This work contains a poem from Hendrik and the widow Johannes van Alken. From the private collection of N. Boerma, which contains about eight of these New Years' wishes dated before 1850.

weeklies and other magazines].¹⁸⁷ Newsvendors sometimes added their names to these greetings cards, making them an unexpected source for the reconstruction of distribution networks.

Appreciation of and respect for news producers and newsvendors could turn into distrust and aversion. It is telling that the large-scale official newspaper producers ('courantiers') in Amsterdam, such as Jan van Hilten and Joost Broersz and his widow, were also the largest pamphlet printers in the period 1647 to 1653,¹⁸⁸ which suggests that even official producers could not resist the temptation of spreading other, perhaps more lucrative, news. The same opportunistic attitude can be found amongst newspaper distributors, who often stood with one foot in the official distribution system and the other in illegal networks. Distributors of the *Amsterdamsche courant* were highly autonomous and enjoyed great freedom. The criers had regular customers, but they also had ample opportunity to sell newspapers on their own account in the streets and public houses. It was a small step to hawking lucrative illicit pamphlets, lampoons and libels. As we have seen in chapter 2, the same phenomenon occurred in London, where mercury women sold both reputable newspapers and radical opposition papers.¹⁸⁹

Sometimes the sale of a newspaper could be deemed a criminal act, as Salomon Markus' arrest in 1698 makes evident. Perhaps the newspaper in this case contained information displeasing to the Amsterdam authorities or perhaps the right to sell newspapers was reserved for a specific group of distributors.¹⁹⁰ At the end of the eighteenth century, newspaper seller Alida Oosterkamp from Amsterdam was sentenced to be whipped and banished.¹⁹¹ It is possible that the street vendors commented publicly on the news they were selling, giving it an unwanted political overtone. Gesina Sink was arrested in Amsterdam during the Batavian Republic because she cried a political message in the street while selling

¹⁸⁷ Copy in UB Amsterdam, 077-1079. Other examples: *Het heil der liefde. Tot een nieuwjaarwensch van de bestellers der boeken, weekbladen, en andere tydschriften, uit den boekwinkel van L. Huisingh*. 1785 (UB Amsterdam: KVB PPA 622: 7); *De godsdienst het behoud van't vaderland. Tot een nieuwjaarwensch van de bestellers der boeken, weekbladen, en andere tijdschriften, uit de boekwinkel van L. Huisingh*. 1787 (UB Amsterdam: KVB PPA 622: 7).

¹⁸⁸ Van Hilten probably published seditious pamphlets anonymously about 1650. Harms, *Pamfletten en publieke opinie*, pp. 99–100, 104–106.

¹⁸⁹ Hunt, 'Hawkers, bawlers, and mercuries', pp. 50–51.

¹⁹⁰ GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 386, fol. 97v, dd. 13-06-1698.

¹⁹¹ GA Amsterdam, RA, *Boekje van De Melander*, inv. no. 640a, dd. 03-05-1798. Database Faber 090.

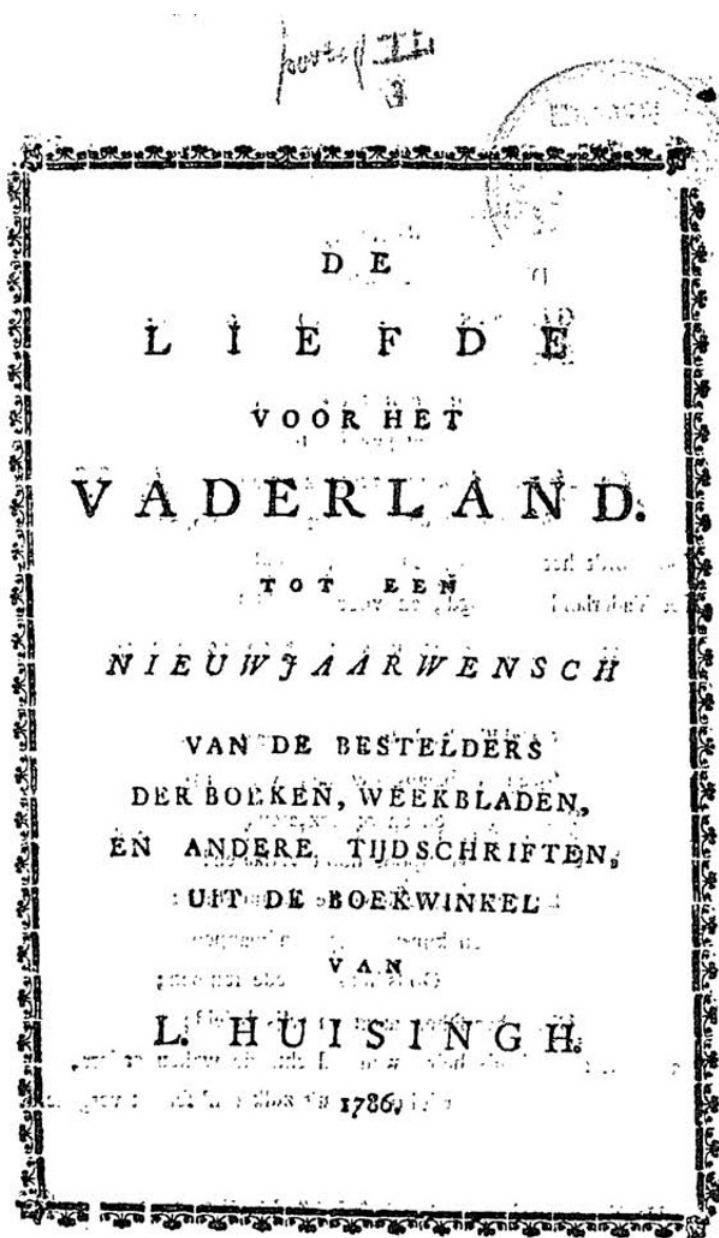


Fig. 3.5. A New Year's Wish from the deliverymen of books, weeklies and other magazines. Groningen, L. Huisingh, 1786. Groningen, University Library: M.V.O. PORT 49 NO3.

the *Nieuws-Post*. She stated that she had been given the cry by one Pieter de Vogel.¹⁹²

Furthermore, newspaper production was not confined to official and legitimate titles such as the *Amsterdamsche courant*, the *Oprechte Haerlemsche courant* and the *Leydsche courant* [Leiden newspaper].¹⁹³ There were irregular newspapers as well, like the remarkable *Antwerpsche courant* [Antwerp newspaper], which was published throughout the eighteenth century. The *Antwerpsche courant* had a questionable reputation. It was a cheap compilation of material from respectable newspapers and had various local editions in Amsterdam, Haarlem, Rotterdam and The Hague. Publishers of the *Antwerpsche courant* paid lower taxes than the publishers of more respectable newspapers, probably because their paper appeared irregularly. The retail price was much lower than the price of official newspapers such as the *Amsterdamsche courant* and the *Leydsche courant*. In Rotterdam the cost of the *Antwerpsche courant* was two pennies [2 duiten] per copy around 1750.¹⁹⁴ The price of the official newspapers (from Leiden, The Hague, Utrecht, and Rotterdam) in the first half of the eighteenth century was already around half a stiver, or 4 duiten, an issue; for a copy printed on fine paper the price was 5 duiten. In 1778 the price of the *Oprechte Haerlemsche courant* rose to 6 duiten, and the *Amsterdamsche courant* followed suit in 1797.¹⁹⁵ In comparison, the daily cost of food in the Netherlands for a family in the period 1740 to 1795 has been calculated as varying between 11 and 14 stivers.¹⁹⁶ The Amsterdam hack writer and journalist Jan van Gysen was held responsible for the content of the *Antwerpsche courant*, which with its political commentary and alleged Catholicism was considered subversive by the Utrecht and

¹⁹² M. Everard, 'In en om de (Nieuwe) Bataafsche Vrouwe Courant. Het aandeel van vrouwen in een revolutionaire politieke cultuur', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman* 24 (2001), no. 1, p. 69; GA Amsterdam, RA, *Verhoren Comite van binnenlandsche correspondentie*, inv. no. 542, dd. 21-07-1800.

¹⁹³ Circulation of the *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* did not differ much from that of the *Amsterdamsche courant* in the first half of the eighteenth century. In 1742, 4,624 copies of the former were printed per week; in 1767 the local edition of the latter had a circulation of 5,060. The *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* was less locally oriented than the *Amsterdamsche courant*. The non-local edition of the *Amsterdamsche courant* had a circulation of about 1,250. D.H. Couvée, 'The administration of the *Oprechte Haarlemse Courant*, 1738-1742', *Gazette* 4 (1958), p. 94; Van Eeghen, 'De Amsterdamse courant in de achttiende eeuw', pp. 43-46.

¹⁹⁴ Van Goinga, *Alom te bekoomen*, pp. 38-39.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 36; Van Eeghen, 'De Amsterdamse courant in de achttiende eeuw', p. 49.

¹⁹⁶ J. de Vries and A. van der Woude, *Nederland 1500-1815. De eerste ronde van moderne economische groei*, Amsterdam 1995, p. 715.

Holland authorities.¹⁹⁷ The satirist Jacob Campo Weyerman adopted the position of the authorities and rejected Van Gysen's reprehensible position when he reflected on the recent War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713). Weyerman probably had Van Gysen's short political poems in mind.¹⁹⁸

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, a small network of publishers, bookshops and pedlars was responsible for the production and distribution of the *Antwerpsche courant* in Amsterdam. In 1707 Philip Pieterse purchased copies of this newspaper at the bookshop of Cornelis van Hoogenhuysen and hawked them in the streets of Amsterdam. He paid a purchase price of five stivers per 'boek' (a 'boek' is 25 printed leaves), or 1.6 duiten for one printed sheet. A newspaper is printed on one sheet.¹⁹⁹ At this time Van Hoogenhuysen's bookshop was a significant source of other political writings. His shop was frequently visited by pedlars who traded both within and outside the city.²⁰⁰ In the 1740s, pedlar Cornelis Hartman purchased pamphlets in Amsterdam at the shop of Jacobus (II) van Egmont (the son of Jacobus I van Egmont, whom we encountered earlier) and hawked them in the streets of Utrecht.²⁰¹ This newspaper was not, however, always popular with the authorities: at the end of the century, the court of Utrecht refused to provide a permit for its sale in the province of Utrecht.

The development of the French newspaper at the end of the seventeenth century appears to have run in parallel with that of the Dutch newspaper. Changes in France, Laurence Fontaine has suggested, 'reveal a pursuit of lower costs and a closer fit with the style of the pedlar selling the newspaper'.²⁰² In other words, occasional newspapers were becoming typical pedlar wares. The *Antwerpsche courant*, produced in the northern Netherlands, developed along very similar lines and was largely dependent on the itinerant trade.

¹⁹⁷ Salman, 'Het nieuws op straat', p. 65.

¹⁹⁸ These poems were also published separately: *Jan van Gysens alle de gedichten welke gediend hebben tot verciering van de Antwerpsche Courant, zedert den 21 December 1706. tot den 24 Mey 1707*. Cornelis van Hoogenhuysen, another publisher of the *Antwerpsche courant*, published this book (UBLeiden, 1199 E 12).

¹⁹⁹ Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, vol. 3, p. 161; Verkruijsse, *De marskramer* (1994), pp. 9–10.

²⁰⁰ Van Eeghen, *De boekhandel in Amsterdam*, vol. 3, p. 161; Kleerkooper and Van Stockum, *De boekhandel te Amsterdam*, vol. 2, p. 1256; Verkruijsse, *De marskramer* (1994), pp. 8–14.

²⁰¹ Daniëls, 'Het toezicht op de publicatie van drukwerk', pp. 52, 60, 67–68.

²⁰² Fontaine, *History of pedlars*, pp. 195–197.



ANTWERPSCHE

Vrydaagsche Post-Tydinge

Den 8. April, 1707. No. 28.

LISSABON, den 16 Maart.

MEn siet de Heer Metwin Ambaf. van Engeland dagelyks in conferentie met de Hertog van Cadaval, en de andere Ministers van dit Hof over de ondernemingen van d'aanstaande Veldtocht, die geopenf sal worde met 't begin vande toekomende Maant. Heden heeft men ontrent 800 Portugiese aan boort gefonde vande Schepen vande Ridder Dilks tot recruterig van onse troupen, die in Valençien sijn, als ook vele Granen, en een grote somme gelts tot onderhout en betaling van d'Engelse troupen en vande Miquelets, so van Valençien, Arragon als Catalonien, de welke de wapenen hebbe opgenomen voor C. Carel. 't Gerugt dat de Vyanden Cartagena fouden geabandonneert hebben, continueert hier, maar wel dat d'apparentie der de Legers handgemeen soude worde, dagelyks groter wiert. Van Elvas wort gefchreve dat de Spanjaarts eenige Regimenten, die by Badajos en Alcantara lagen, na de kant van Valençien dede marcheren, tot versterking van het Leger van C. Philippus; so dat wy hope met onse Armée langs dese kant aan de Vyande niet alleen een grote diversie te maken maar zelfs tot in't hert van Spanje te dringe.

P.S. De Ridder Dilks vertrekt morgen, so de wint dient, met sijn Esquadre na Alicante.

TURIN, den 29 Maart.

Gister heeft men hier over het getrokken accoort in Italien den Te Deum gefongen.

Voor de Francen, die het Casteel van Milanen, en vervolgens al de andere plaatsen ten eerfte moeten evacueren, en door ons land na Suza marcheren kopen de France Commissarissen die hier sijn, vele levensmiddelen op, dewelke onse Hertog na Crecentino en Vergeil doet voeren. De route voor de France troupen is gereguleert, en sullen aan deselve de nodige Muyl-Ezels, Wagens, en Schepen, tot vervoering van hunne Bagage, ten koste der geallieerdens gefourniert worde; maar voor de rest sullen sy over al voor hun eyge gelt moeten teeren. Onse Hert. heeft scherp belast dat al sijn Regimenten tegens de 15 der toekomende Maant moeten compleet wesen. Men gelooft dat het op een inval in het Dauphiné aangesien is.

WEENEN, den 23 Maart.

Gister avont quam hier een Expreffe van Milanen met de aangename tyding dat het Traclaat in Italien met de Vyanden getroffen was, uyt kragte van het welk de France alle de Steden en Casteelen die sy nog besitten, voor den 8 April aan ons Volk moesten inruymen. Men heeft hier over dese morgen een extraordinare vergadering gehoude van al de Ministers, om te overlegge of onse troupen nu tegens het Ryk van Napels, of tegens het Danphiné sullen gebruykt worden; maar het is apparent dat men daar ontrent geene vaste resolutie sal nemen voor 't arrivement van de Pr. Eugenius, die wy tegens den 8 of 10 April hier verwagten. Den Keyser heeft

Fig. 3.6. *Antwerpsche Vrijdaagsche post-tydingen* [Antwerp newspaper]. Amsterdam: Jacob Brouwer, ca. 1707. Amsterdam, University Library: Obr. 168.

Alongside the official newspaper and the unofficial newspaper we can distinguish a third related category, the so-called 'nieuwstijdingen' [newsletters]. Newsletters differed from regular newspapers in that they usually contained just one news item and were produced irregularly. Street sellers occasionally specialised in this ephemeral material (see table 3.13). In 1611

Table 3.13 Hawkers of printed news in Amsterdam by wares and gender, 1600–1850.

Printed wares	Male	Female	All hawkers
newspapers (couranten)	7	3	10
newsletters (nieuwstijdingen/ nouvelles)	17	5	22
pamphlets (paskwillen/libellen)	15	3	18
mercuries/journals(mercuren/ tijdschriften)	0	1	1
Total	39	12	51

Source: Salman Database

Rycke Barends and Aelbert Hockes commissioned Gerrit van Breughel in Amsterdam to print a newsletter about a monstrous birth.²⁰³

We can detect certain patterns in the supply of news by pedlars. Only occasionally were newsletters sold together with newspapers; the former were more often combined with the more controversial ballads and pamphlets. In 1690 Allegonda Hendrikse was sentenced for selling songs but characterised herself as a ‘hawker of newsletters’.²⁰⁴ Just like selling songs and libels, hawking newsletters was against the law, as the pedlar Dominicus Garsie experienced in 1690. A compositor without work, Garsie started selling printed news that he acquired at the bookshop of the widow Adriaan Gaasbeeck in Amsterdam.²⁰⁵ Although in this instance Garsie fell foul of the law, in this period control of news dissemination was generally not very effective.²⁰⁶

Trade in newsletters was characterised by close collaboration between hawkers and a small circle of booksellers that formed small-scale

²⁰³ Kleerkooper and Van Stockum, *De boekhandel te Amsterdam*, vol. 2, p. 1194; Verkruijsse, *De marskramer* (1994), p. 48.

²⁰⁴ GA Amsterdam, RA, *Justitieboeken*, inv. no. 596, fol. 118, dd. 8-6-1690.

²⁰⁵ Hawker Govert Jaspers can probably be considered Garsie’s partner. Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, vol. 3, pp. 130–131; Verkruijsse, *De marskramer* (1994), pp. 24–27, 75. GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 335, fol. 169, 20-7-1690.

²⁰⁶ Hendrik Janss ‘t Water was arrested in 1692 for selling newsletters. He had been accused before. GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 338, fol. 62, dd. 27-08-1692. See also the collaboration between Elias [Vlaar] Levi and Martinus de Moor from Brugge, GA Amsterdam, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 338, fol. 8, dd. 19-06-1692.

specialised distribution networks. Sometimes these networks were based on family ties,²⁰⁷ but this was not a general rule. Furthermore, family ties did not necessarily bring close business ties. In 1758, Jannetje Janse and Catharina Hamers were informed by the son of the Amsterdam bookseller Barend Koene about an illicit newsletter, *Nieuwstyding of pertinent verhaal wegens een moord die er aan een manspersoon gepleegd zou zijn* [Newsletter or true story about the murder of a man]; although Janse and Hamers were sisters and hawked the same material, they worked independently of each other.²⁰⁸

In cases where a hawker was arrested and interrogated, a supplier was usually named. From such sources we know that the widow Claes van Duijst and Harder Reiniersz were suppliers of newsletters. The arrested pedlar admitted that he had bought newsletters from them for about 1.5 duiten per copy, a price similar to that of the *Antwerpsche courant* in the same period.²⁰⁹ Hawkers were particularly eager for material to sell during political crises. In 1702, the Amsterdam hawker Johannes Pieterse bought on a single occasion 134 newsletters bearing the title *Coninck Lodewijck in de Griekse A tot Delft, op 't Eijndigen der campagne 1702, en het verbranden van de vloot in Vigos door M.G.V.B* [King Louis in the Greek A at Delft, about the end of the campaign of 1702 and the burning of the fleet at Vigos] and attributed to Jurriaen Bouckart. He paid six stivers per 25 newsletters, so approximately 1.9 duiten per copy. Later, when the newsletter had lost its topicality, he bought further copies for 1.3 duiten per copy. Willem Janse and Martinus de Moor bought this newsletter at the same address.²¹⁰ Their colleague Robbert Janse had a long career as a seller of newsletters, working in Amsterdam at least from 1690 until 1702.²¹¹ What has become clear is that the network of producers and distributors of newsletters was a mainly local.

As has been noted, street sellers with songs, newsletters and newspapers were frequently also involved in the sale of lampoons and libels

²⁰⁷ The ballad seller Jacob Janknegt worked together with his mother, selling newsletters in 1718. GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 376, dd. 17-03-1718.

²⁰⁸ The sisters acquired merchandise at the bookshop of Hendrik Rijnders, as well as at that of Koene. Baggerman, *Een lot uit de loterij*, pp. 92–93; T. Jongenelen, *Van smaad tot erger. Amsterdamse boekverboden 1747–1794*, Amsterdam 1998, p. 19, no. 59.

²⁰⁹ Verkruijsse, *De marskramer* (1994), pp. 11–14; Kleerkooper and Van Stockum, *De boekhandel te Amsterdam*, vol. 2, pp. 1255–1256.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 335, fol. 168, dd. 14-06-1690. Database Faber 1690-083; Verkruijsse, *De marskramer* (1994), pp. 11–14; Kleerkooper and Van Stockum, *De boekhandel te Amsterdam*, vol. 2, pp. 1255–1256.

(pamphlets), both of which could be acquired at bookshops. In 1705, a newsletter seller in the Bomstraat in Amsterdam, Harder Reiniersz, supplied Jacobus Fonteyn with a libel against 'prins Louis of Baden'. In 1706, Fonteyn bought the satirical card game 'het Nieuwe Lanterlué spel' [The New Game of Loo] at the shop of the producer of the *Antwerpsche courant*, Cornelis van Hoogenhuysen.²¹²

Given the potential impact of pamphlets at times of political conflict, it is not surprising that street sellers, who could play a significant part in ensuring wide and speedy distribution, were often among the first to be arrested.²¹³ We find several examples during political turmoil in Amsterdam, especially in the 1740s and 1780s.²¹⁴ On 16 September 1751, pedlars Geertruij Febremon and Hubertus Tafijn were banned from the city for twelve years, having been held responsible for the distribution of anti-Orangist pamphlets written by Jacob Baroen in which two tax collectors were ridiculed. The pedlars had received these writings from Johannes Phillipus Kellenbach, who disappeared before the trial.²¹⁵

The eighteenth-century conflict between Patriots and Orangists provided another context for such pamphlets. Cornelis Simons hawked a forbidden patriotic pamphlet, *Welmeenende raad van een getrouwe Nederlander*, on 24 October 1788 but had also sold pamphlets with portraits of the leader of this movement, J.D. van der Capellen tot den Pol.²¹⁶ A small proportion of the libels circulated were hand written and remained within a limited circle of readers. Some of these versions were perhaps intended to be printed eventually. In 1696 Joris Pieters (Bokk) carried a written libel that he claimed to have found in a local inn. He dictated its contents to Pieter Tovies in a tobacco cellar (a coffeshop?), who copied it in turn. Joris destroyed his version by throwing it into the fire. Questioned by the police, Joris denied that it had been printed.²¹⁷

No payment might be required for pamphlets that were a form of political propaganda. Pedlar Jacobus van Saen was distributing material for free

²¹² Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, vol. 3, p. 161; Verkruijse, *De marskramer* (1994), pp. 8–14.

²¹³ In 1732 the Portuguese Jew Isaack Sinjoor was picked up from the Amsterdam streets for selling pamphlets. GA Amsterdam, RA, *Cipiersrekeningen*, inv. no. 631, dd. 18-02-1732. Database Faber 1732-005.

²¹⁴ Jongenelen, *Van smaad tot erger*, pp. v, xiii–xiv.

²¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 9–10, nos. 27–28.

²¹⁶ GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 461, dd. 24-10-1788. See Baggerman, *Een lot uit de loterij*, p. 92.

²¹⁷ GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 342, fol. 251, dd. 20-03-1696.

when he was arrested in The Hague in June 1730; his offence was that no printer's name appeared on the imprint.²¹⁸ In 1617 Ellardus de Vries, a preacher from Tiel, was accused of distributing a very controversial pamphlet, for which he did not always require payment.²¹⁹

One strategy adopted by publishers to avoid prosecution, especially during periods of turmoil, was to publish libels and lampoons anonymously. According to Knuttel's catalogue of pamphlets, in 1618 about 54 percent of the pamphlets produced in the Netherlands appeared without a publisher's name. Around 1650, almost 30 percent of the pamphlets produced in Amsterdam had no name on the title page.²²⁰ Those who wished to buy such material would therefore not have had the information about a fixed location where it could be acquired. The street trade, with marketing by pedlars, was therefore indispensable. We must distinguish, however, between pamphlets that had no imprint at all and pamphlets with an imprint that lacked the name of a publisher but had recognisable features; the latter case provided some indication of where further pamphlets might be acquired.²²¹ Pedlars in Amsterdam selected locations at which many people gathered or through which many people passed, like the Dam and the nearby stock exchange. The previously mentioned Rijck Cornelissen de Swart admitted that he accosted merchants here on the street, trying to sell libels and newsletters that he had bought in the Beulingstraat.²²²

Itinerant perpetrators of street crimes sometimes revealed names of suppliers who cannot be found as members of the Amsterdam booksellers' guild or in the *Thesaurus* of Dutch booksellers and publishers, which suggests that we are dealing here with a separate and clandestine layer of printers, binders and retailers. Helena (Landerie) of Amsterdam confessed in 1696 that she bought her newsletters at the shop of the bookseller Pieter Joosten, of whom we know nothing further.²²³ Another frequent supplier in the 1690s was the otherwise-unknown Jan

²¹⁸ GA Amsterdam, RA, *Copie schoutsrollen*, inv. no. 223, dd. 27-06-1730.

²¹⁹ Harms, *Pamfletten en publieke opinie*, p. 67.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 43–46, 97–100.

²²¹ P. Dijstelberge, 'De beer is los! Ursilica: een database van typografisch materiaal uit het eerste kwart van de zeventiende eeuw als instrument voor het identificeren van drukken', Ph.D. thesis, Amsterdam 2007.

²²² The exact address was not given. In 1666, Symon Pietersz had a bookshop in the Beulingsstraat, so perhaps he was the supplier of these pamphlets and newsletters. GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 321, fol. 14, 02-04-1673.

²²³ GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 343, fol. 78, dd. 22-07-1696.

Barbe.²²⁴ Frequently pedlars told their interrogators that they had acquired their pamphlets not at an official bookshop but elsewhere in the city, perhaps from a binder or someone else with links to booksellers but perhaps from a wholesaler. In seventeenth-century London this role as intermediaries was already being performed by mercury women, but in Amsterdam these suppliers were not members of one clearly defined group. In 1692, Marrij Frederix, an Amsterdam pedlar, hawked libels in the street. She confessed before the court that she had received these pamphlets at an address in the Nieuwebrugsteeg where a family named Donkel was living.²²⁵ Printers who were not known as publishers or booksellers could play a key role. Printer Jean de Riberolles had a well-oiled production and distribution network in 1671. He commissioned Hendrick Venckel to produce a translation of a French pamphlet and having printed this libel himself, he ordered his three servants Willem Martinij, Ambrosius Buna and Matthias Point to distribute it (for free?) on the streets.²²⁶

The hawking of periodicals and mercuries was seldom punished in Amsterdam and therefore does not appear in the criminal records, but we do know from other sources that pedlars had a share in their distribution. The *Weekelyksche Amsterdamsche mercuuren* [Weekly Amsterdam mercury] (1710–1722) was a joint production of Jacobus (I) van Egmont and Jan van Gysen in which Van Gysen satirised topical matters that appeared in regular newspapers.²²⁷ Just like the *Antwerpsche courant*, the *Amsterdamsche mercuuren* found most of its purchasers through the itinerant network. Van Egmont was able to recruit a large group of hawkers to disseminate his material in the streets, and after his death in 1725, his widow continued his activities for some 30 years. In some editions Van Gysen tells his readers in detail about his personal dealings with itinerants. In 1716, for instance, he complained that everybody expected him to continue supplying the *Amsterdamsche mercuuren*, but nobody took account of the recent death of his wife. He grumbled that the street vendors were

²²⁴ [Andoris] Lambertse van der Kuyde bought her newsletters from Barbe in 1697 and Elias [Vlaar] Levi in 1692. GA Amsterdam, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 338, fol. 8, dd. 19-06-1692; inv. no. 344, fol. 262, dd. 25-11-1697.

²²⁵ GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 338, fol. 98, dd. 20-10-1692. In this period the only bookseller with a bookshop in the Nieuweburg steeg was Jacobus Robijn. The title of the libel is 'uytvaert van Koningh Jacobus'. I have not found a copy of this pamphlet in either of the online databases STCN or TEMPO.

²²⁶ Venckel also received a few copies, which he gave away, probably to some of his friends. GA Amsterdam, RA, *Copie schoutsrol*, inv. no. 205, dd. 17-03-1671, 07-04-1671, 28-04-1671.

²²⁷ Beentjes, "En de man hiet Jan van Gyzen", pp. 3, 7.

JAN VAN GYSENS WEEKELYKSCH AMSTERDAMSCH MERCUIJEN;

Verhalende op een Boertige wys, 't voornaamste
Nieuws door heel Europa. Beginnende met den
18. September, 1710., en eyndigende
den 7. September, 1711.

E E R S T E D E E L.



'A M S T E R D A M,

Gedrukt by JACOBUS VAN EGMONT, Boekdrukker en Boekverkoper
op de Reguliers Breefstraat, in de Nieuwe Drukkery, MDCCXI.

Fig. 3-7. Jan van Gysen, *Weekelyksche Amsterdamsche mercuuren* (1710–1711) [Amsterdam weekly mercury]. Amsterdam: Jacobus (I) van Egmont, 1710. This mercury was distributed by local pedlars. The Hague, National Library: 556 J 3-4.

scolding him and the printers were angry because he could not meet their expectations.²²⁸ After a business conflict with Van Egmont, he warned the audience that street sellers were spreading a pirate edition of his *Amsterdamsche mercuuren*. Later he denounced the lack of discretion of vendors who were spreading scandal about his financial situation.²²⁹

As we consider the street trade and printed news, we should linger for a while with the bookseller and supplier Jacobus (I) van Egmont, who created a specialised production and distribution network for news in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Van Egmont's list of publications includes many so-called period documents, that is to say, topical pamphlets, newsletters and other printed news (see table 3.14). His publications have a strong historical-political, topical and often satirical character, and he seems to have judged the demands of the market well and responded swiftly to political and military events. The repeated appearance of poetry and rhymes in his mercuries, plays and dialogues is indicative of the entertaining character of his publications.

Van Egmont's interest in news reached beyond the Dutch borders. He frequently published periodicals in which European conflicts were reported and debated. A series of dialogues in which a Frenchman and Dutchman discussed the political situation in a humorous way was published under the title *Harlequin met de rarekiek* [Harlequin with the peep show] for about eight years from 1712. Fear of prohibition caused the author of these dialogues to avoid domestic politics and state affairs.

The *Amsterdamsche marsdrager* [Amsterdam pedlar] (1720–1721) was a Spectator-like magazine with both commentary on the news and fictional and entertaining elements such as poetry. The unknown author explicitly stated that he sought to meet the wishes of the people who preferred 'riddles and songbooks, above pious works'. In the *Amsterdamsche marsdrager* the reader could find, among other things, information about the international economic crisis, the financial bubble that involved the Dutch Republic as well as England and France, and astrological predictions. The presence of these predictions, which were not taken seriously by the more learned in this period, suggests that this periodical did not circulate among the better educated.²³⁰

As we saw in chapter 2, news distribution in seventeenth-century London was dominated by the so-called mercury women, in their role as

²²⁸ Ibid., p. 11.

²²⁹ Ibid., pp. 12–13.

²³⁰ *De Amsterdamsche marsdrager* 1 (1720), p. 7 and 2 (1720), p. 12.

Table 3.14 Categories of printing in the publication lists of Jacobus (I) van Egmont and his widow, 1711–1755.

Category*	Jacobus (I) van Egmont, for 1711–1725	Widow of Jacobus (I) van Egmont, for 1726–1755	Total
Period documents	64	27	93
Periodicals	2	8	10
Songbooks	12	13	25
Emblem books	-	1	1
Catechisms	-	2	2
Occasional writings	4	2	6
Biographies	1	-	1
Children's books	-	1	1
Prayer books	-	2	2

Source: Short Title Catalogue Netherlands (www.stcn.nl), accessed 05-06-2013

* Categories are taken from the STCN descriptions

wholesalers. Although women had a significant role in the Dutch publishing industry in general, in the Netherlands they do not seem to have acted as intermediaries as did English women. When a male bookseller and guild member died, his daughter or widow could take over his shop, for local guilds were keen to see businesses continue. Article 17 of the 1667 ordinance of the Utrecht booksellers' guild stated that a widow could become a member of the guild within a year of her husband's death. If she remained unmarried, she could continue the business on her own.²³¹ Sixty-three booksellers' widows in Amsterdam had their own shops between 1700 and 1750. Although there is no evidence that women were prominent as wholesalers, they had a considerable share of the market as street vendors. In the cities I have studied, Dutch street vendors were as often female as male. Only at the end of the eighteenth century did a female presence in the political press grow, where women's roles ranged from publishing to street selling.²³² As publishers of news, women such as Johanna Heymeriks and Johanna Sophia Duval were frequently politically

²³¹ Hoftijzer, 'Women in the early modern Dutch book trade', p. 215.

²³² Everard, 'In en om de (*Nieuwe*) *Bataafsche Vrouwe Courant*', p. 69.

engaged. Duval published the Orangist newspaper *Bataaf en Boer* [Batavian and farmer]. Other female news publishers were Suzanna Timmerman and Catharina Heybeek. We know of some ten political newspapers on this model published by women between 1795 and 1798.²³³ For this reason, local authorities considered women, publishers and distributors alike, to be a threat to the public. The *Comite van Algemeene Waakzaamheid* [Committee of General Alertness] ordered all the (male and female) hawkers of the controversial *Nieuws-Post* [Newspost] and the *Vrouwe Courant* [Women's newspaper], published by the Amsterdam printer and publisher Martinus van Kolm, to end their activities. One of the additional complaints about women who distributed newspapers on the streets was that their cries were different, and more politicised, than the content of their wares, a charge made against women selling the *Burger en Boer* and the *Nieuwe Post*. In 1800 Gesina Sink was questioned about the source of her cries, as it seemed unlikely that she had made them up herself.²³⁴ As such examples illustrate, the production and distribution of news was highly politicised from the 1780s onwards, and street sellers were often the first victims of repression. The publication of the Orangist journal *De politieke snapster*, by Willem Coertse in Amsterdam, was not prohibited, but in 1785 pedlars were forbidden to sell it on the streets.²³⁵

The sources reveal five newspaper vendors active in the much smaller city of Utrecht in the period 1697 to 1807. The first example, from 1697, shows that the distribution of newspapers was not necessarily the work of specialist vendors. The incident concerns the aforementioned widow of Jurriaan van Poolsum, who unlawfully ordered her apprentice to deliver newspapers, although the boy was supposed to be learning the skills of typesetting.²³⁶ From the eighteenth century comes scattered information about young children distributing newspapers as they sought to supplement the income of their poor families. As we have seen, in 1749 the ten-year-old daughter of Sara van Hattum (widow De Bruyn) earned six stivers a week for 'delivering newspapers'.²³⁷

Evidence of a regulated distribution of newspapers is stronger for Leiden. In a Leiden tax record of 1749, five people – two men and three

²³³ Ibid., pp. 69–71.

²³⁴ Ibid., p. 69.

²³⁵ Baggerman, *Een lot uit de loterij*, p. 92; Jongenelen, *Van smaad tot erger*, pp. xvi, 57, no. 188.

²³⁶ See footnote 83.

²³⁷ See footnote 84.



Fig. 3.8. J.H. Prins, Female hawker on the Botermarkt [Buttermarket] in Amsterdam, 1775–1806. Rotterdam, Atlas van Stolk: 31312.

widows – were registered as ‘distributors of newspapers’.²³⁸ Klaas Langenakker was a well-known newspaper seller and distributor at the end of the eighteenth century, remembered in particular because of a drawing that has an accompanying caption describing him as a

²³⁸ See ‘Leidse volkstelling 1748’, Website DANS <https://easy.dans.knaw.nl/ui/datasets/id/easy-dataset:44056>.

'prominent newsvendor in Leyden', 'the most down-to-earth and industrious person' and 'the liveliest man from Leyden'. He plied his trade in all weathers, a stack of newspapers in one hand, a cane in the other. In the caption a certain Abspoel, described as 'die Mercur' ('that Mercury'), is mentioned as another distributor of news in Leiden.²³⁹ According to Van Goinga, in the 1780s the Leiden bookseller Christoffel Fredrik Koenig used specialist newspaper vendors to distribute printed news.²⁴⁰ In the course of the eighteenth century, several women were registered in The Hague as hawkers with newspapers.²⁴¹

In addition to official newspapers, all sorts of illegal and seditious material was also distributed. The aforementioned and ill-reputed *Antwerpsche courant* was distributed in Utrecht in the 1730s by a seventy-year-old woman named Catharyn Temmingh, who also carried seditious songs and Catholic pamphlets in her pack, for which offence she was banned from the city.²⁴² In 1756 the authorities tried to put an end to digest newspapers such as the *Brabandse Courier*, the *Land en Zee Mercur*, the *Europische Land-en Zee Mercur* and the *Antwerpsche courant*. The prohibition also covered the distribution on the street of other illegal material such as newsletters and pirated newspapers.²⁴³ In Leiden the unofficial *Antwerpsche courant* was not forbidden, but its distribution was strictly regulated. In 1724, Rachel Lazarie was given exclusive permission to distribute it.²⁴⁴ Another form of press control was achieved via trade licenses. Ignatius van Nes, citizen of Utrecht, received a license in 1805 from the court of Utrecht to sell 'local public newspapers'. His area was restricted, however, to the Utrecht countryside and he was not allowed to sell other printed news. The restrictions that accompanied this license forced Van

²³⁹ P. Kikkert, *Proeve van ets-kundige uitspanningen, of Verzameling van plaatjens, [...]*, Amsterdam 1789, pp. 78–79.

²⁴⁰ H. van Goinga, '1725–1830 - Distribution - Kinds of booksellers', in *Bibliopolis. History of the printed book in the Netherlands*, Zwolle, The Hague 2003, pp. 138–139.

²⁴¹ T. Wijsenbeek, 'Van priseerstes en prostituées. Beroepen van vrouwen in Delft en Den Haag tijdens de achttiende eeuw', *Jaarboek voor Vrouwengeschiedenis* 8 (1987), p. 196.

²⁴² Utrechts archief, SAI, *Criminele stukken*, inv. no. 2244; Daniëls, 'Het toezicht op de publicatie van drukwerk', p. 60; W.P.C. Knuttel, *Verboden boeken in de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden. Beredeneerde catalogus*, The Hague 1914, no. 445; Utrechts archief, *Historisch Werkmateriaal Van Klaveren*, inv. no. 243, Uittreksels uit vroedschapsresoluties, dd. 23-06-1734, fol. 137.

²⁴³ Utrechts archief, *Historische Werkmateriaal Van Klaveren*, inv. no. 244, Uittreksels uit Vroedschapsresoluties, dd. 20-12-1765, fol. 48.

²⁴⁴ GA Leiden, SAI, *Aantekeningen uit de Burgermeestersdagboeken*, inv. no. 168 Z, fol. 66v, dd. 17-10-1724.



Fig. 3.9. Drawing of the Leiden news vendor Klaas Langenakker. In P. Kikkert, *Proeve van ets-kundige uitspanningen, of Verzameling van plaatjens*. Amsterdam, Willem van Vliet, 1789. The Hague, National Library: 1307 E 12.

Nes to specialise, whereas before 1805 he had also sold other material, including books.²⁴⁵

In the 1780s, the content of many newspapers became increasingly politicised as publishers favoured either a Patriotic or an Orangist ideology. The sale of newspapers lost something of its innocence and became a potentially seditious matter. According to the patriotic periodical *De Politieke Kruyer* [The political barrowman] in 1784, the Orangist *Haagsche courant* [Hague newspaper] was sold in large numbers by street vendors every Sunday morning after the church service in The Hague at a price of one stiver. The vendors, it was reported in *De Politieke Kruyer*, tried to lure the people with salacious information about the Prince of Orange.²⁴⁶

Since the early seventeenth century, provincial and local authorities in Utrecht had regularly issued ordinances against the production and distribution of pamphlets,²⁴⁷ and they continued this practice into the eighteenth century; in 1781, for example, the States of Utrecht expressed their concern about the dissemination of seditious pamphlets.²⁴⁸ Although there can be no doubt that pamphlets circulated within the city of Utrecht, hawking on the streets was infrequently punished. The few examples found in the sources refer to pedlars or pamphlets that came from outside the city. Catharyn Temmingh, for instance, came from Leiden. Cornelis Hartman, apprehended in 1749 for 'praying and singing' along the road, as well as for selling the libellous *Derde vervolg der t'zamenspraak* [Third sequel of the dialogue], purchased his pamphlets in Amsterdam in the bookshop of Jacobus (II) van Egmont.²⁴⁹

The record from 1650 of the trial proceedings of The Hague bookseller Willem Breeckvelt mentions a pedlar, Abraham Oorthoorn, who hawked news in the city, as well as in the countryside, a very early example for the Netherlands.²⁵⁰ Most legal records concern urban distribution. In Leiden,

²⁴⁵ Utrechts archief, Hof van Utrecht, inv. no. 135-1, 135-2, *Lijsten van personen*, dd. 25-01-1798; 15-09-1801; 19-02-1805; 31-08-1807.

²⁴⁶ Reference in Van Wissing, *Stokebrand Janus 1787*, p. 66.

²⁴⁷ See Utrechts archief, 'Tegen het drukken en dissemineeren van Pasquillen en Fameuse Libellen'; [...] in *Generale inhoud van alle de Placaten, Ordonnantien, Resolutien, Statuten, Edicten, Handvesten, Privilegien, en andere Acten, begrepen in Ses Registers op het Groot Utrechts Placaetboek, Vermelt op de Bladzyde na de Voorrede volgende* [...] Utrecht 1733, Vol. I, pp. 425-431; *Historisch werkmateriaal Van Klaveren*, inv. nos. 243-247: Ordonnanties, censuur en verboden boeken.

²⁴⁸ C.W. Moorrees and P.J. Vermeulen, *Vervolg van Mr. Johan van de Waters Groot Plakkaatboek 's lands van Utrecht. Van den vroegsten tijd af tot het jaar 1805*. 2 vols, Utrecht 1856.

²⁴⁹ See Daniëls, 'Het toezicht op de publicatie van drukwerk', pp. 52, 60, 67-68.

²⁵⁰ GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 308, fol. 163, dd. 15-12-1650.

for instance, the authorities sought to tackle the distribution of libels and lampoons on the street as early as the late sixteenth century.²⁵¹ Their concern did not abate. In the 1780s, the Leiden magistrate had to tackle a growing number of political writings in which the conflict between Patriots and Orangists was fought out. Attempts to ban such material within the city were complicated by the presence of distribution points just outside the city gates, for example at a tavern called Overraam, which lay just outside the Hogewoerd city gate, where the canal boat from Utrecht arrived. In the 1780s, many street sellers were drawn to this tavern to stock up on Orangist pamphlets and periodicals. The Leiden booksellers were powerless, but they tried to call in the Vierschaar, or district water board, of Rijnland, to forbid an Orangist newspaper and pamphlet entitled *Na-courant* and the *Politieke praatmoer* [Political chatterbox].²⁵² The legal proceedings that followed laid bare a network containing an Amsterdam publisher, Hendrik Arends, Leiden booksellers Elie Luzac and Jan Hendrik van Damme, and a bookbinder and street seller named Jacobus Perk. Later, the milkman Cornelis van Dam was accused of hawking *Na-courant*.²⁵³ In the end, all five were set free. This case was not unique. Pamphlets directed against the Leiden authorities were also distributed in the nearby village of Waddinxveen, where bookseller Jacobus van der Schram worked together with a street seller, the son of tax collector Post, who sold the books from door to door.²⁵⁴

As we have seen for Amsterdam, pedlars could influence the production of printed news. They could also determine print runs and distribution. In 1791 an advertisement in the *Utrechtse courant* [Utrecht newspaper] recommended a special edition of a *Vreugde courant* [Rejoicing newspaper] by J. van Rossum, who called on the newspaper vendors to notify him of how many copies they required.²⁵⁵

In addition to forms of news dissemination that we might term professional, we must also acknowledge informal means of (re)distribution within the circles of readers themselves. In locations such as coffeehouses, inns and reading societies, one newspaper might be read by more than

²⁵¹ For some early examples see Van den Heuvel, *Criminele vonnisboeken van Leiden*, pp. 43–45, 1588 and pp. 147–151, 1621.

²⁵² Van Vliet, *Elie Luzac*, p. 389.

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 393–394.

²⁵⁵ J.C.W. van Campen, 'Advertenties uit de Utrechtse courant' (1792), *Jaarboek van Oud-Utrecht* (1961), pp. 102–103, dd. 03-10-1791.

N A - C O U R A N T ,
O P D E
N E D E R L A N D S C H E C O U R A N T ,
V A N
H A R M A N U S K O N I N G .

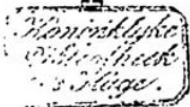
Gedrukt op de *Koninglyke Drukkery*, in
de *Diemer of Watergraafs-Meer*.

Op *Zaturdag en Zondag den 9de en 10de Augustus*.

1783.

NAARDEN, den 10. *Augustus*, heeden arriveerde alhier zyne Hoogheid den HEER *HARMANUS KONING*, met nog een Heer die men zeide een *Brusselaar* was, en zyne Koninglyke Hoogheids Kamerheer, zyn Kamerdienaar was zeekeren *Hespiaan* en zyn Kamerlakey eenen *VERLEM*, vervolgens was de Stoet niet extra groot, met zich brengende een groote Bagagie-Wagen met COURANTEN welke alle in de WATERGRAAFSE OF DIEMERMEER Gedrukt zyn, Hy was verzeld van twee *Mooren*, zes *Lakeyen* en twaalf *Honden*; toen Hy aankwam, wist men niet wat dat het beduide, maar naderhand hoorde men dat Hy het was die men eerst om zyne Brutaliteit uit *Noordholland* verjaagd had, en nu op Expresse ordre door *Burgemeesteren* van het Steedje *Amsterdam*, het uitgeven en Drukken van zyne *Courant* verboden had, men was zeekerlyk zeer verwonderd op dit gezicht, van al die *Couranten*, want men kan begrypen dat het al een heele Boel geweest is, het was

CGM



1785

77 20

Fig. 3.10. *Na-courant* [Follow-up newspaper], an Orangist newspaper and pamphlet, 1783–1784, was available at the tavern Overraam, just outside the Hogewoerd city gate of Leiden. From there it was distributed further by street sellers. The Hague, National Library: pfl. 20465.

one person, as would also have been the case within the private sphere.²⁵⁶ From the diary of Gerard Udinck in Groningen, dating from the years 1663 to 1665, it is evident that newspapers were distributed not only by postmen – who also delivered books in addition to letters – but also by the local priest, who probably brought them to Udinck after he had read them himself.²⁵⁷ In 1762 Christina Schneider, who lived in Utrecht, declared that she read the *Utrechtsche courant* together with her neighbours; when she finished her copy she delivered it to the widow De Wolf on the Oude Gracht.²⁵⁸

Print Sellers

Examples of itinerant print sellers come mainly from the eighteenth century, but it is plausible that they were active in the previous century too. In 1614 the Scottish pedlar Ritsart Sanders, who was from Edinburgh, received a permit from the Leiden government to sell prints in the surrounding countryside during the coming six months.²⁵⁹ In Amsterdam in 1693, pedlar Adriaan Stockhoff was arrested for selling ‘forbidden (pornographic?) images’.²⁶⁰

From the seventeenth century onwards, and especially during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, so-called penny prints were a very prominent product in the Dutch market for cheap print. These single-sided prints appeared on a single sheet close to today’s A3 size. They contained one or more images and often a few lines of explanatory text. The penny prints were often sloppily coloured, as we can see from image 3.12, which is a nineteenth-century example of the Land of Cockaine. These prints have also been called children’s prints, popular prints, ‘oortjes’ prints – referring to a Dutch coin worth two duiten – saints’ prints or ‘mannekesblaren’ (literally, little fellows’ leaves). The term ‘penny prints’ refers to a commercial characteristic – they belonged to the cheapest illustrated printed material available in the Netherlands. The dissemination of these penny prints was immense. We have insufficient information for the eighteenth century to attempt to put a figure to that

²⁵⁶ Van Goinga, *Alom te bekomen*, p. 38.

²⁵⁷ *Tot tijdverdrijf in ballingschap (1663–1665)*. *Dagboek van Gerard Udinck*, Groningen 1988, nos. 600311; 630914; 631030; 630923; 631122; 640311; 650623.

²⁵⁸ Utrechts archief, SAIL, *Criminele stukken*, inv. no. 2244–334, 1762 IV, dd. 24-04-1762.

²⁵⁹ It is possible that the clerk recorded a Dutch version of his name. GA Leiden, SAIL, *Aantekeningen uit de Burgermeestersdagboeken*, inv. no. 146, fol. 224v.

²⁶⁰ GA Amsterdam, RA, *Kopieschoutsrol*, inv. no. 210, dd. 18-04-1693; *ibid.*, 03-05-1693, 02-06-1693, 09-06-1693.



Fig. 3.11. Jacob Perkois, *Traveling printseller*, 1784, chalk, pen and brush. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet: Emmering collection, RP-T-2008-28.

scale, but for the nineteenth century, the archives of the publisher Brepols in Turnhout are enlightening. In 1829 about 81,000 penny prints were sold in Amsterdam, 8,400 in Rotterdam, 40,000 in Den Bosch, 12,500 in Bergen op Zoom and 500 in Arnhem. In 1857 the number of prints sold in Amsterdam had more than tripled.²⁶¹

We can observe a geographical concentration of the production of penny prints in the eighteenth century in five Dutch centres: Amsterdam, Deventer, Zaltbommel, Den Bosch and Rotterdam. From there the prints were often distributed via so-called *wederverkopers* [resellers]. Information from the records of the Amsterdam publishinghouse De Erven Stichter from 1787 onwards indicates that their penny prints were distributed to other booksellers, to resellers, to schoolmasters and to pedlars. It seems likely, therefore, they would also have been sold on bookstalls.²⁶²

In addition to this domestic trade in prints, well-organised long-distance print trade, which we can reconstruct, also took place between Italy and the Dutch Republic in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. With the production of Remondini prints, Bassano, about 60 kilometres from Venice, grew in the second half of the eighteenth century to become one of the largest print centres of Europe.²⁶³ In 1780, about 32 of the 54 presses in Bassano were used for the production of these prints, and some 1,000 workers were in the service of the Remondini. The subjects of these cheap prints were similar to those of the Dutch penny prints, with stories of saints, for example, but also 'The Land of Cockaine' and 'The World Turned Upside Down'. Devotional prints were especially sought-after in the countryside. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the Remondini started to produce more fashionable products, probably for a more urban, middle-class audience, a type of customer readily found in the cities of the Dutch Republic.²⁶⁴ The print catalogues they produced, listing subject, price and format, were important instruments for informing customers about the available assortment. These catalogues distinguished between ordinary prints (*stampe ordinarie*), high-quality prints

²⁶¹ Vansummeren, *Kinderprenten van Brepols*; See also A. Borms, *Centsprenten. Massaproduct tussen heiligenprent en stripverhaal*, The Hague 2010, p. 16.

²⁶² GA Amsterdam, *Boekverkopersboeken Erven Stichter 1787–1792*, toegang 5060, 'Koopmansboeken', no. 185.4. I would like to thank Theo Clements for pointing me at this source.

²⁶³ See Deceulaer, 'Dealing with diversity', pp. 173–174, on Italian print sellers in the Southern Netherlands.

²⁶⁴ A.W.A. Boschloo, 'Reizende prentverkopers in dienst van de Remondini', in K. Enenkel et al., eds, *Reizen en reizigers in de Renaissance. Eigen en vreemd in oude en nieuwe werelden*, Amsterdam 1998, pp. 98–99.



Fig. 3.12. Penny print: *Lui-lekkerland/ Pays de Cocagne*. Turnhout, Brepols & Dierckx, 1833–1880. The Hague, National Library: SMC K 0109.

(*stampe fini*) and prints of old masters (*stampe antiche*). The first category contained more traditional, often religious, prints, which were more likely to be bought in the countryside; the more expensive fine prints, with more modern topics, were aimed at what has been termed a 'sophisticated urban middle class'.²⁶⁵

²⁶⁵ A.W.A. Boschloo, *The prints of the Remondinis. An attempt to reconstruct an eighteenth-century world of pictures*, Amsterdam 1998, p. 185.

Well-organised distribution of their prints throughout Europe was one reason for Remondini success. The Remondini worked with a large network of agents and print sellers throughout Europe.²⁶⁶ The print sellers travelled in small groups led by a *capo di compagnia*, who coordinated the work and distributed the supply among the pedlars. In 1781 there were about 330 *capi di compagnia*, which suggests that several hundred pedlars were spread throughout the continent.²⁶⁷ Many travelling print sellers came from the small Italian village of Pieve Tesino, in the valley of Tesino, which explains why they were often called 'Tesini'. In a written contract with the Remondinis, the pedlars gave part of their possessions (house, land) as security. Many were recruited from the Fietta, Buffa, Caramelli, Tessaro, Avanzo and Daziario families.²⁶⁸ In 1708 the Remondini started a branch office in Pieve Tesino, where the Tesini traders could stock up before they started their journey.²⁶⁹ Tesini sellers could also replenish their stock from supplies held for them at locations in the north through which they travelled.

Every three or four years the pedlars came back to Tesino, but many also settled in countries they visited and opened print shops there. These shops then functioned as central depots from which the print trade could be continued. With the production and distribution of these Remondini prints, a 'network of salesmen ensured a lively trade: even in the smallest villages and hamlets, and the most isolated farms throughout Europe.'²⁷⁰

Several of these travelling print sellers visited Utrecht and Amsterdam, where some opened shops. Adam Fietta, Johan Tessaro, Jan Rio, Jacob Caramelli and Balthasar Brunello had market stalls in Utrecht from at least 1789.²⁷¹ They sold mainly *stampe fini* ['fijne prenten'], with the Utrecht middle class as their intended customers.²⁷² In 1791, print sellers

²⁶⁶ Boschloo, 'Reizende prentverkopers', pp. 99–101.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ J.F. Heijbroek, 'From simple print-seller to renowned art dealer. Frans Buffa & Sons in Amsterdam (c. 1785–1951)', in A. Milano, ed., *Commercio della stampe e diffusione delle immagini nei secoli XVIII e XIX. Trade and circulation of popular prints during the XVIII and XIX centuries*, Rovereto 2008, pp. 207–208.

²⁶⁹ Boschloo, 'Reizende prentverkopers', pp. 99–101.

²⁷⁰ Boschloo, *The prints of the Remondinis*, p. 185.

²⁷¹ Utrechts archief, SAII, inv. no. 534, *Lijsten van de plaatsen der tenten en kramen op de kermis* [Lists of the places for stalls and stands] 1785, 1786, 1788–1790. Met lijsten van de loting der gegadigden [With lists of people that were selected by drawing lots] 1786, 1788–1791. Hierbij eenige gedrukte reglementen op de jaarmarkt [With some printed regulations for the fair].

²⁷² Ibid., dd. 1788–1790.



Fig. 3.13. Italian printseller. Paris, Madame d'estampes à Vienne, 1788, coloured aquatint. Milan, Collection Alberto Milano.

Caramelli and Tessaro started a print shop together at the Choorstraat in Utrecht, advertising themselves as specialists in prints and drawing materials; they moved their business to the Oudkerkhof in the second half of the nineteenth century. One of the founders of the business, Johan Tessaro, had had a print stall in the Utrecht market in 1789, on the

Oudmunster Kerkhof. Italian print sellers continued their trade in Utrecht in the nineteenth century. In 1839 to 1840, N. van Deelen, B. Lovo [or Lobo?] and G. Buffa were listed in the patent register as 'inlandsche kramer' [inland pedlars]. Lovo received a more specific additional description as a seller of prints from an 'open table'.²⁷³

Just as Caramelli and Tessaro had opened permanent outlets in Utrecht, the Buffa family established print shops in Amsterdam. Before Frans and Pieter Buffa started their business in Amsterdam, they had been travelling print dealers. Frans Buffa was director of a print shop in the Kalverstraat from 1790 until 1815; Pieter Buffa had a print shop in the Kalverstraat from 1808 until 1864. When Frans Buffa retired, his two sons Sebastiaan and Giovanni succeeded him. They in turn handed the business over to Pierre Adrien in 1836, who ran it until 1866. Like many of their fellow sellers Frans, Sebastiaan and Giovanni Buffa all eventually returned to their home village in Tesino.²⁷⁴ P.A. Beguin found a partner in Alberto Caramelli, a descendent of the aforementioned Caramelli-Tessaro sellers. Under Caramelli the art shop Frans Buffa & Sons flourished in Amsterdam between 1836 and 1890.²⁷⁵ This story is instructive as it shows that social mobility within the itinerant book trade may not have been very common, but it was certainly possible.

Old-Book Sellers

As we saw earlier in this chapter, stallholders in Amsterdam often specialised in the sale of second-hand or old books because this market was less profitable for established booksellers. They were exceptional amongst street sellers in often enjoying a legal status that afforded them some protection. In Leiden sellers of old books could become guild members by paying a smaller fee than regular members.²⁷⁶ In 1696 Andries du Pon (Andreas Pontanus) had such a stall and paid only half of the usual guild membership fee. The catalogue of du Pon's stock drawn up for the auction that followed his death in 1699 contained 112 pages listing second-hand

²⁷³ They were sometimes also called 'prentmerker' [market seller of prints], probably indicating that they sold prints on the market. Utrechts archief, SAIV, *Register van patentschuldige kramers*, inv. no. 6151, 1839–1840, nos. 5, 43, 348, 365.

²⁷⁴ J.F. Heijbroek, 'Van eenvoudige prentenkoopman tot gerenommeerde kunsthandelaar: Frans Buffa & Zonen in Amsterdam (ca. 1785–1951)', *De boekenwereld* 23 (2006–7), pp. 50–66.

²⁷⁵ A.M.E.L. Hoogenboom, 'De stand des kunstenaars.' *De positie van kunstschilders in Nederland in de eerste helft van de negentiende eeuw*, Utrecht 1991, p. 215.

²⁷⁶ Van Goinga, *Alom te bekomen*, p. 197.

books.²⁷⁷ In 1732, Pieter Delbeek, a seller of old books, became a member of the guild for only 7 guilders and 10 stivers.²⁷⁸ This special membership was not reserved exclusively for second-hand booksellers. In Leiden cheaper memberships were available for the so-called *contribuanten*, who could not afford a higher fee. Both men and women could become *contribuanten*; many women in this category traded in playing cards, prayer books, schoolbooks, almanacs, pencils, paper and broadsheets.²⁷⁹

According to a 1788 ordinance of the Haarlem booksellers' guild, *uitdraagsters* [second hand dealers] were allowed to hawk old books on the streets.²⁸⁰ Amsterdam and Utrecht probably had the same guild rules, although we do not have any direct evidence that this regulation was in force.²⁸¹ Old-book sellers were treated as specialists. In Amsterdam in 1699, a female pedlar had permission to stand near the orphanage selling second-hand books.²⁸² In 1721 the local authorities received complaints that a seller of old books was trying to buy books from students at the Latin school; the complaint was based on the young age of the students, not on the seller's trade itself.²⁸³

CONCLUSION: DISTRIBUTION NETWORKS AND PATTERNS IN THE NETHERLANDS

The itinerant book trade in the Netherlands was a significant economic force and a crucial extension of the regular book trade. One third of local booksellers in Utrecht in 1800 were itinerant. Especially in the eighteenth century, the response of booksellers' guilds to the itinerant sale of books was ambivalent and at times confused, for while the guilds tried to regulate and suppress the itinerant trade, their own members also profited from it. The close ties between established booksellers and street traders were especially strong when the latter were bookstall holders, who

²⁷⁷ Bouwman et al., *Stad van boeken*, p. 219.

²⁷⁸ Van Goinga, *Alom te bekomen*, pp. 197–201, 313.

²⁷⁹ Van Goinga, *Alom te bekomen*, pp. 99–100; H. van Goinga, 'Schaduwbeelden. Vrouwen in het boekenvak in de vroegmoderne tijd: een nieuw terrein van onderzoek', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis* 12 (2005), p. 16.

²⁸⁰ GA Haarlem, *Boekdruckers-, boekbinders- en boekverkopersgilde*, statute of 09-09-1788.

²⁸¹ Van Goinga, *Alom te bekomen*, pp. 197–201, 313.

²⁸² GA Amsterdam, RA, *Confessieboeken*, inv. no. 348, 157r, dd. 04-11-1699.

²⁸³ Utrechts archief, *Historisch werkmateriaal Van Klaveren*, inv. no. 243, Uittreksels uit Vroedschapsresoluties, dd. 18-08-1721, fol. 290v; dd. 13-10-1721, fol. 5.

often had a semi-official status and operated as a direct extension of an established bookseller with a shop.

If itinerant booksellers restricted their trade to second-hand or old books, they were more likely to be tolerated. In some cities – in Amsterdam on the Botermarkt, for example – bookstalls became established points of sale not unlike bookshops. The Botermarkt was a centre of other forms of street trading as well, attracting hawkers and ballad singers. As also in eighteenth-century Utrecht, Italian print sellers with a market stall might eventually start their own shop. The specialisation of itinerant booksellers in second-hand trade can be identified as early as the end of the seventeenth century, predating the involvement of established and specialised bookshops in this segment of the market. Only after 1750 did separate auction catalogues for second-hand and antiquarian books appear. Itinerant involvement in the trade in second-hand books is indicative of the potential for innovation and the adaptability of the itinerant system. This flexibility can be seen again in the nineteenth century when Felip Andre Canongette, who is so hard to pin down into one category of trader, forced booksellers to rethink the traditional division between sedentary and itinerant book selling, and between shops and other selling points.

Legislation against pedlars enacted from the 1660s onwards was the result not only of an increasing fear of the impact of seditious texts, but also of growing frustration among established booksellers who feared competition. After 1760, additional pressure on itinerant trade was a product of the economic downturn, an increase in the number of booksellers and the modernisation of the distribution system. One such constraint can be found in the Utrecht provincial licensing system, intended as a measure against both begging and the distribution of dangerous books and pamphlets.

The urban presence of the itinerant book trade was perhaps larger and certainly more prominent in the Netherlands than in other European countries. Extensive and well-organised pedlar networks like the Tödden from Germany, the Savoyards from France and the Tesini pedlars from Italy did not have a Dutch equivalent. Itinerant trade was not absent, however, from the countryside. There is evidence from the early seventeenth century of pedlars selling printed news in the rural areas of Holland and from eighteenth-century rural Utrecht of pedlars offering for sale goods that included new genres and printed news. There is also evidence – from Gelderland in the second half of the eighteenth century, for example – that pedlars who travelled within large geographical areas might carry only books. Travelling pedlars went not only from the city to

the countryside, but also considered other cities that were relatively near part of their territory. With booksellers well established in many cities in the Netherlands, residents of both town and countryside could visit a local bookshop to acquire reading material. In provinces without that density of bookshops, however, as in Utrecht in the eighteenth century and Zeeland in the nineteenth century, networks of rural pedlars played their part in the distribution of printed material.

Local pedlars were omnipresent in Amsterdam, Utrecht and Leiden, but their networks were flexible, ad hoc and not very well organised. Because of the strong position of the established booksellers throughout the Netherlands and the power of the local booksellers' guilds, the itinerant trade had to be adaptable and creative, able to fill niches in the local and regional market. Book-peddling itinerant sellers were less successful on an interregional scale in the Netherlands than equivalent pedlars in England, but urban pedlars were in the vanguard of the sale of printed news and entertainment in the Netherlands. They proved highly innovative, not only guaranteeing the speedy circulation of pamphlets, songs and prints, but also influencing the very production of that material. Their involvement explains the rise of the so-called pedlar literature in the early eighteenth century, which is discussed in chapter 1.²⁸⁴ What is more, pedlars commissioned printers to produce songs or pamphlets, acted as compilers and authors of new titles and sometimes even had a say in the size of print runs.

Street trade in Amsterdam had a substantial share of the distribution of printed news and entertainment. The more controversial news in particular was dependent on unofficial networks, as street traders combined official and neutral newspapers with seditious and illicit libels, lampoons and newsletters more easily than did the established bookshops, and they facilitated the spread of politicised media among all social classes. Unofficial newspapers like the *Antwerpsche courant* embodied this mix of neutral and controversial news, and it is telling that pedlars were often associated with these titles. The fact that irregular newspapers and seditious pamphlets reached the countryside as well as the cities is evidence that from the seventeenth century onwards news circulated relatively quickly.

Because of the flexibility and ad hoc character of the urban itinerant trade, pedlars and distributors rarely appear in the Dutch sources as

²⁸⁴ See the subsection 'Entertainment and commerce'.

well-defined and fixed types. Not only is there a lack of wholesalers on the model of the English mercury women, but the distinction between rural and urban pedlars was also greater in England. In Dutch cities we find a very broad spectrum of irregular booksellers, running from semi-official bookstall holders to beggar ballad singers. In large production centres like Amsterdam there was no need to organise and facilitate – by means of credit, for instance – itinerant booksellers in order to secure distribution. In Amsterdam there was always a large group of poor, unemployed or low-waged people who could easily be recruited into the street trade. The Dutch system also created a distinct layer of booksellers who were sedentary but facilitated the illegal street trade; these booksellers were not members of the booksellers' guilds and are often invisible in our sources. Ephemeral material, in particular, such as news and entertainment (news-papers, pamphlets, songs and cheap prints) could not be distributed effectively without these suppliers and street sellers, who reduced the spatial and intellectual distance between shop and potential customer.

CONCLUSION

A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE ON ITINERANT NETWORKS

In both England and the Netherlands there was a strong relationship between the social position of the pedlar and the image that was created in legal, administrative, visual and literary sources. Regular official booksellers, aggravated by these unfair competitors, generated and prolonged a negative image of the pedlar, but at the same time needed pedlars for the distribution of printed wares that could not be sold in their shops. If pedlars were prosecuted for their activities on the streets, their potential economic force would be kept in check. Street vendors were the first to be impeached for illegal activities, albeit these activities were often facilitated and promoted by official booksellers.

The authorities faced a similar dilemma. They wanted to prevent the uncontrolled distribution of printed material, but also preferred street selling to begging and vagabondage, which probably explains the ubiquitous presence of pedlars on the city streets. Especially in the eighteenth century, it was almost impossible to know where the limits of the legal street trade lay. The English Licensing Act of 1697 created, however, a significant administrative and legal difference between the Netherlands and England in the eighteenth century. English pedlars and hawkers formed a distinct legal category within retail trade. Although this position limited their freedom of action, it gave them social status. In the Netherlands pedlars were not incorporated into the institutionalised book trade before the nineteenth century. When this step took place, the negative image of pedlars applied only to those who did not obey the rules, as was the case with French travelling bookseller Felip Andre Canongette.

Publishers as well as pedlars often deliberately created stereotypes of underground and street literature. This phenomenon was particularly evident in the Netherlands from the beginning of the eighteenth century. The strategy was applied to stress the distinctive features of the itinerant trade in a growing and complex market. More than in England, the pedlar in the Netherlands was needed as a commercial ambassador and intermediary in the transmission of popular culture. In England distribution was officially divided between itinerants and regular booksellers and as a result the distinctions between the two means of distribution were clearer for potential buyers and readers than in the Netherlands.

These examples indicate that the image created by official booksellers and political authorities was associated with the legal and social reality. More complex is the relation between depictions of pedlars in word and image, on one hand, and archival records, on the other. The results of this study indicate, however, that visual and literary sources lend support to the conclusion that there were many more types of sellers in the Netherlands than in England, where categories were more standardised.

In general, however, Dutch images were closer to the historical reality than English depictions. The English view of pedlars – often romantic or satirical, for example – differed markedly from the reality on the streets. The broad range of the representations of pedlars in the Netherlands is frequently more revealing of their social status. The visual and textual sources are particularly informative about itinerant trade in the countryside, telling, for instance, of the boxes pedlars carried on their backs. These visual sources also sustained stereotypes, however, like those of Jewish hawkers. Ballad singers at the end of the eighteenth century were often associated with political commentary in England, whereas in the Netherlands their portrayal was usually more neutral.

It is also striking that in England this visual material was aimed much more exclusively at the upper middle classes and higher, while in the Netherlands prints were accessible to everyone. In England this material strengthened class distinctions between upper and lower classes, whereas in the Netherlands these varied images were part of a collective cultural repertoire. Dutch pedlars could afford to buy the penny prints on which they themselves were portrayed.

This difference in the social and cultural position of the itinerant trade in the two countries is also evident from examination of the social-economic position of pedlars. It is important that I repeat that I have deliberately focussed on urban distribution networks, whereas Laurence Fontaine and Margaret Spufford both concentrated on rural networks. I have also sought a broader perspective on these urban activities than Paula McDowell, who concentrated on the market for political material in her book *The Women of Grub Street*.

The limited quantitative data I could find to establish the scale of the itinerant book trade in the Netherlands and England confirm Jan de Vries' conclusion in *The Industrious Revolution* that during the eighteenth century a new network of small retail outlets and a growing number of pedlars caused a much larger supply of goods than before.¹ In the last

¹ De Vries, *The industrious revolution*, p. 169.

decades of the eighteenth century about one third of the local booksellers in Amsterdam and Utrecht were itinerant. Although for England we have the administrative data from the Hawkers and Pedlars' Office, it is impossible to distinguish between pedlars with printed merchandise and those who sold other goods. The number of pedlars licensed yearly was between 1,500 and 2,000 in the eighteenth century, but the number of licenses handed out does not represent all the active pedlars and hawkers, as many traders operated without a license. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, approximately 20 percent of all licensed hawkers sold printed matter. In London, the street trade in books probably formed a higher share of the total number of booksellers than elsewhere.

Both in England and in the Netherlands legislation against pedlars increased from the 1660s, an indication of their growing importance. Their suppression was the result not only of fear of seditious texts, but also of the established booksellers' growing grievances about their activities. The outcome of this legislative process was different in the two countries: in England it eventually led to a centralised license system, whereas in the Netherlands suppression remained a regional or local affair, and even then local or regional pedlars who bought and sold local goods were often tolerated, whereas 'strangers' with goods from elsewhere were barred and punished. In both countries, however, the behaviour of the official booksellers was often inconsistent, for while they collectively tried to enforce regulation, as individuals they often made use of these irregular networks to distribute illicit and seditious material.

Especially in the Netherlands, the distinction between regular and irregular book trade was blurred. The sources often reveal thin lines between the roles of sedentary bookseller, bookstall holder and itinerant bookseller. A certain level of social mobility was possible in both countries. In England there are examples of pedlars who started their career with hawking, then became bookstall owners, and ended up as shopkeepers or even owners of warehouses. In the Dutch sources some similar cases can be found among Jewish stallholders and Italian print sellers.

In the research for this study, I came across a very broad range of criers, ballad singers, stallholders, incidental street sellers, and all sorts of urban and rural pedlars. In England three main legal categories can be distinguished: pedlars, hawkers and ballad singers. In the city of London additional specific categories were recognised, such as the mercury women and trade publishers, who were non-existent in the Netherlands. It is possible that the supply of popular material was more segmented, structured and limited in England than in the Netherlands. As my earlier work on

almanacs has demonstrated, the variety of material in English almanacs was smaller than that in Dutch almanacs.² Conversely, Dutch collections do not appear to contain the specific category of early modern chapbooks, although more research is needed in this field.

The geographical characteristics of the English and the Dutch book trades enhanced these structural differences. Especially in the seventeenth century, London was the unparalleled centre of English book production and distribution and, as a result, there was a marked difference between itinerant book traders who travelled from London to the rest of the country and local street sellers. This situation changed somewhat in the eighteenth century, as with the lapse of the Printing Act, pedlars could stock up in provincial cities as well. Still, the special editions of almanacs for chapmen and pedlars, the warehouses available en route to pedlars, the occurrence of pedlar advertisements, the special lodging houses for Jewish pedlars and the establishment of Scottish pedlar societies in the eighteenth century are all evidence of the more structured long-distance trade in England. No traces of a similar infrastructure are to be found for the Netherlands.

To categorise pedlars in both countries I have distinguished between occasional traders, pedlars of printed matter and other goods, pedlars who sold printed matter exclusively, and pedlars who sold specialist printed matter. The first, mainly urban, category did not show striking differences between England and the Netherlands. The second category was mainly a rural phenomenon in both counties, but the combination of goods differed: in England many rural pedlars carried textiles, linen and printed goods; in the Netherlands no one combination of goods dominated and pedlars seem to have been very responsive to innovations in the market, partly due to the smaller distances involved and the more advanced forms of transport.

Pedlars with printed wares exclusively, be it as stallholders or travelling hawkers, can be found in England as well as in the Netherlands. In Amsterdam the number of bookstalls increased in the eighteenth century, and they became an increasingly ineradicable evil in the eyes of shopkeepers. The records of the administration of licenses for Utrecht pedlars in the second half of the eighteenth century demonstrate that rural pedlars

² Salman, *Populair drukwerk in de Gouden Eeuw*, pp. 429–433.

could specialise in printed wares and that they were neither conservative nor cautious in the selection of their supplies, for they included in their packs new genres such as children's books and topical works such as newspapers and newsletters. In the nineteenth century Dutch peddling (then termed 'colportage') became, although not in all cases, an accepted element of the official book trade. Itinerant trade could now be controlled within the booksellers' organisations.

One distinctive characteristic of peddling in England, and more precisely in London, was provided by the existence of publishers who specialised in popular books and ballads (the Ballad Partners are discussed in chapter 2). They assembled in certain areas of the city (around London Bridge) and specifically aimed at pedlars and hawkers as their customers. This type of distribution of specialist items has not been traced in Amsterdam.

Within the specialist category, the itinerant sale of chapbooks or 'small books' is particularly noteworthy. Spufford has shown that this trade was substantial and well organised not only in London but also in more rural areas. It is difficult to make a comparison with the Netherlands here, because the definition of a 'chapbook' remains unclear. Spufford's characterisation comes from seventeenth-century trade lists and covers *small religious books*, *small merry books*, *double-books*, and *histories*.³ In the Netherlands a similarly distinctive grouping comprising cheap books does not seem to exist. The only possible comparison may be with the Dutch penny prints discussed briefly in chapter 3, in the section on print sellers. Their images were often not original but were based on other sources and genres or on prints produced by other publishers. Many of the publishers of these prints also produced other popular genres such as almanacs and songs, a combination of cheap goods similar to that produced by some English publishers. Like English chapbooks, penny prints covered a wide range of topics, including current events such as catastrophes, crimes and battles, images of occupations and animals, the lives of saints and humorous stories about quacks and elderly spinsters. They also provided a wide range of stories, plays and fairytales. We know of an extensive network of itinerant print sellers in the Netherlands, who almost certainly had a share in the distribution of this material.

³ Spufford, *Small books and pleasant histories*, pp. xix, 262–267.

Within the category of specialist pedlars both England and the Netherlands, ballad singers were very prominent. Ballad singers would have been well-known public figures, and the ballads they sold could have functioned as innocent entertainment but also as dangerous political propaganda. In both countries ballad sellers were often quite autonomous in, for example, their performance of songs and the changes they made to the content. The most marginal and impoverished street sellers could be at the forefront of social and political conflict, as happened in England in the 1640s. The ballad sellers were considered especially dangerous because they could communicate seditious messages orally. We can identify the same suspicion in Amsterdam from the seventeenth century onwards, a wariness that probably explains the local statute ban on ballad selling throughout much of the period covered by this study. Ballad singers in both town and country were often seen as a threat to society and as associated with vagabondage and crime. In both the Netherlands and England, many ballad sellers were female, which may have been a result of their often difficult social situation if they were widows or unmarried. Selling ballads was a last resort for many of these women.

The reduction in ballad selling identified for London between 1770 and 1810 by Robert Shoemaker does not appear to have been replicated in Amsterdam.⁴ In London this decline coincided with diminishing interest in the personal affairs of non-public figures. Popular media such as ballads focussed more and more on public affairs and public figures. The sale of ballads in the streets of London appears, however, to have recovered quickly: around 1850 Henry Mayhew counted 250 streets sellers with ballads and songs. We need further research and content analysis for Amsterdam to be able to make a good comparison with the English situation.

Another substantial group of specialists is formed by news pedlars. In England and the Netherlands news pedlars can be divided into regular newspaper sellers and irregular news pedlars, who sold pamphlets, libels and newsletters, for example. In England the newspaper industry gained new momentum with the lapse of the Printing Act in 1695. Newspaper production and distribution spread over the country, with an advanced network of publisher-booksellers, newsagents, distributors, newsboys and hawkers. In the city of London an extensive distribution network developed, involving trade publishers, mercuries and hawkers.

⁴ Shoemaker, *The London mob*, p. 273.

In the Netherlands roles within the distribution network were not so clearly defined: newspaper publishers ['courantiers'] can be distinguished, but the street sellers were a heterogeneous group. We do know that the regular newsvendors were often boys and women. The supportive family networks of hawkers in London did not have an equivalent in Amsterdam or Utrecht.

In both countries, official newspaper networks were often used for the distribution of more controversial news and radical opposition papers. In England the impact of this network became especially clear during the Civil War in the 1640s. Royalists as well as Parliamentarians were well aware of the possibilities and the threats of this street propaganda. Individual pedlars and hawkers with specific pamphlets were suppressed by censors and the police, but the distribution system itself could not be eradicated. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, women (as mercuries or hawkers) were often responsible for the production and dissemination of political news, although after 1750 they were much less frequently to be found as publishers. McDowell has suggested that women were an important, even indispensable, economic force in the local book trade.⁵ Just as pedlars and hawkers played a significant role in the business of ballads, they also had an important share in initiating and producing pamphlets, and after 1680 they were involved in the circulation of libels and other seditious works not only in London but also in the provinces.

Amsterdam and Utrecht heard the same complaints about newsvendors selling controversial libels, lampoons and newsletters. Especially around 1690, despite the protests of booksellers and prosecutions, there were more street sellers than ever hawking these seditious materials in Amsterdam. Action was also taken against irregular newspapers such as the *Antwerpsche Courant*, which purveyed both uncontentious news and controversial news. With irregular newspapers and seditious pamphlets reaching both city and countryside, news evidently circulated relatively quickly in the Netherlands as early as the seventeenth century.

This study has produced abundant evidence that the itinerant book trade in both England and the Netherlands has to be seen as a crucial extension of the regular book trade. Its importance was evident not only in the countryside, but also in urban centres. Even in Amsterdam and London, which were significant book-production centres, street trade was an important factor in commercial, political and social aspects of urban life. Stricter

⁵ McDowell, *The women of Grub Street*, pp. 59–60, 100.

regulation and geographical factors meant that the itinerant trade in England was more clearly defined than in the Netherlands, and that its popular material can be distinguished from that promoted by the sedentary book trade, which aimed at the middle and higher classes. In the Netherlands, circumstances did not support the same transparency, and consequently we find here a large variety of itinerant booksellers selling a wide range of printed wares that are difficult to define by genre, category, function or audience. The implication is that within the Dutch market for popular material the transition between high and low culture was much more fluid than in England. Peter Burke's thesis about a growing polarization between high and low culture in Europe is clearly not supported by the Dutch distribution system for popular print.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ARCHIVAL AND MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

The Netherlands

Stadsarchief Amsterdam

Archief van de ambachtsheerlijkheid Weesperkarspel en Hoogbijlmer, de gemeentes Weesperkarspel en Bijlmermeer.

Inv. no. 289: *Kohier van patentbelasting* (1807–1811).

Archief van het college van zetters en controleurs inzake classificatie van beroepen voor de patenten.

Inv. no. 68 *Reclamatien Patenten*.

Archief van de gilden en het brouwerscollege.

Inv. nos 52–198: *Boekverkopers-, boekdrukkers- en boekbindersgilde*.

Koopmansboeken.

Inv. no. 185.4: *Boekverkopersboeken Erven Stichter* 1787–1792.

Oud Archief Ouder Amstel.

Inv. no. 94: *Register der rondlopende gepatenteerden* 1806–1812.

Rechterlijk archief.

Inv. no. 198–252: *Kopieschoutsrol*.

Inv. no. 268–532: *Confessieboeken*.

Inv. no. 542: *Verhoren Comite van binnenlandsche correspondentie*.

Inv. no. 567–604: *Justitieboeken*.

Inv. no. 631–635: *Cipiersrekeningen*.

Inv. no. 640a: *Boekje De Melander*.

Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam

Bibliotheek Koninklijke Vereniging van het Boekenvak.

Inv. nos B 52–87: *Boekverkopers-, boekdrukkers- en boekbindersgilde*.

Gelders Archief Arnhem

Hof van Gelre en Zutphen.

Inv. no. 4524–4785: *Criminele Procesdossiers* 1544–1811.

Stadsarchief Deventer

Rechterlijk Archief.

Inv. no. 156 **: *Afrekening gemaakt bij het overlijden van Simon van Steenberghe op 27 oktober 1596*.

Nationaal Archief Den Haag: Rijksarchief Zuid-Holland

Hof van Holland 1428–1811.

Inv. nos 5197–5644, 6136: *Criminele Papieren* 1572–1810.

Inv. nos 5651–5674, 6210: *Registers van Criminele Sententies* 1464–1811.

Regionaal Archief Leiden

Stadsarchief II (1574–1816).

Inv. nos 2234–2238: *Registers van paspoorten, registers van verklaringen betreffende ingevoerde goederen 1631–1808.*

Inv. no. 1292: *Register van afgelegde verklaringen omtrent inwonersschap van Leidse venters 1789–1802.*

Inv. nos 66–68: *Onderwerpen uit de Gerechtsdagboeken.*

Inv. nos 145–185: *Aantekeningen uit de Burgermeestersdagboeken.*

Stadsarchief III (1816–1929).

Inv. nos 2043–2120: *Register van patentplichtigen 1816–1894.*

Inv. no. 3: *Criminele vonnisboeken van Leiden, 1533–1811.*

Gemeentearchief Rotterdam

Notarieel archief.

Inv. no. 1836: *Testament Francois vander Linden*, fol. 290, akte 96, dd. 28-02-1731.

Utrechts Archief

Stadsarchief II (1577–1795).

Inv. no. 121: *Vroedschapresoluties.*

Inv. no. 534: *Lijsten van de plaatsen der tenten en kramen op de kermis.*

Inv. no. 1852: *Ambachtskamer. Notulen Stads Ambachtskinderhuis.*

Inv. no. 2236: *Criminele Sententiën van het gerecht.*

Inv. no. 2244: *Criminele stukken (1577–1794).*

Stadsarchief III (1795–1813).

Inv. no. 475: *Manuaal van gevangenen en gedetineerden (1800–1807).*

Stadsarchief IV (Na 1813).

Inv. nos 5367–5378: *Registers van patentschuldige kramers etc. (1818).*

Inv. no. 6151: *Registers van patentschuldige kramers etc. (1839–1840).*

Inv. nos 684–694: *Diaconie der Hervormde Gemeente te Utrecht (1597–1960).*

Notarieel archief 1560–1811.

Historisch werkmateriaal Van Klaveren.

Inv. nos 238–242: *Alfabetisch op naam gerangschikte fiches met gegevens over boekdrukkers, boekbinders, boekverkopers, courantiërs e.d. uit de 15e-19e eeuw.*

Inv. nos 243–247: *Ordonnanties, censuur en verboden boeken.*

Provinciaal Archief Utrecht.

Inv. nos 135-1, 135-2: *Hof van Utrecht: Lijsten van personen, aan wie vergund is hunne nering ten plattelande uit te oefenen (1763–1808).*

England

The National Archives, Kew

Public Record Office.

AO 3/370: *Register of Licences granted for a year from 24th June 1697 To Hawkers & Pedlars (1697–1698).*

AO 1/1435/70: *Hackney and stage coaches and chairs, also hawkers, pedlars, and petty chapmen: receivers general (1770–1771).*

AO 1/1440/100: *Hackney and stage coaches and chairs, also hawkers, pedlars, and petty chapmen: receivers general (1800–1801).*

- AO 1/1353/127, 134: *Hackney and stage coaches and chairs, also hawkers, pedlars, and petty chapmen: receivers general* (1820–1821, 1827–1828).
- E/351, 1726–1740: *Hawkers, Pedlars, and petty chapmen: duties arising by licenses* (1700–1715).
- IR 51/5: *Entry book of letters between the Treasury and the Board of Stamps and the Board of Stamps and Taxes concerning hackney carriage and hawkers' and pedlars' licences* (1831–1834).
- IR 51/7: *Entry book of deputations to distributors of stamps and others to issue and inspect hawkers' and pedlars' licences* (1832–1860).
- IR 78/ 467: *Caution to all hawkers, pedlars and petty chapmen that they should renew their licences by 31 July*, poster, 1859.
- T 1/443/212: *England and Wales, Miscellaneous: Report of Commissioners for Hawkens on the Hawkens and Pedlars Act* (1698–1699), dd. 18–11–1765.
- T 1/498/147–154: *England and Wales, Miscellaneous: Commissioner for licensing hawkers, pedlars and petty chapmen: memorial and suggestions for amendment to existing legislation* (1773–1774).

Guildhall Library, London

- Store 1497–1499: 'Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, Select committee on Finance': *Tenth report from the select committee on Finance etc. Hawkens and Pedlars* (London) 1797.

Devon Record Office, Exeter

Exeter Archive.

- No. 413: *Sworn informations at the sessions of the peace 1702–1769*.
- Nos 132a and 132b: *The marriage licenses of the diocese of Exeter 1734–1762*, 2 vols; index is in 132c (1947).
- Box 385: *Exeter Quarter sessions*, dd. 07–12–1822.
- Box 88: *Quarter Sessions and Gaol Delivery, Indictments, 1726–1732, Single indictments from broken files, various dates, 1660, 1699–1786, 1855, Christmas sessions 1780*.
- C1/70: *Exeter city oaths* (1720–1724).
- C5/102: *Order book of the Justices of the Peace concerning strangers*, f. 58, 28 February 1627.
- G12/B27/571: *Quarter sessions*, dd. 28–05–1757.
- [Unnumbered]: *Quarter Sessions and Gaol Delivery, Calendars 1818–25*: dd. 18–10–1819 and 10–01–1820.

Devon archive.

- QS32/100: *Devon Quarter Sessions Gaol Calendars*, Epiphany, 13 January 1829.
- Devon QS Bundles: *Quarter sessions*, QS/4/1599. Epiphany 1598/99 sessions.

PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

- An account of many wonderful instances of Divine Providence which have occurred to John Magee*. Glasgow n.d.
- Almanach der Boekverkoopers, drukkers, en binders* [...]. The Hague 1761.
- Amsterdamsche courant*.
- Amsterdamsche marsdrager*.
- Amsterdamsche mercurius*.
- Antwerpsche courant*.

- Apollo's Marsdrager, veylende alderhande scherpzinnige en vermakelyke snel, punt, schimp en mengeldichten.* Amsterdam 1728.
- Atkyns, R., *The original and growth of printing, collected out of history and the records of this Kingdom* [...]. London 1664.
- The Ax laid to the Root of the corrupt Tree.* London 1740–1741.
- Biestkens, N., *Het eerste(-derde) deel van Claas Kloet.* Amsterdam 1619.
- Blount, Th., *Glossographia: or a dictionary.* London 1656.
- Burgundia, A.A., *Des Wereldts proef-steen.* Antwerp 1639.
- D'Amsterdamse Kordewagen, opgevult met alderhande nieuw voyzen, aerdige quinctslagen, en Bruylofs snaekerijtes; door verscheide Liefhebbers samen gevoeght.* [...]. Amsterdam 1662.
- Dalton, M., *The Country Justice: containing the practice, duty and power of the Justices of peace* [...]. printed in the Savoy 1727.
- Den Lacchenden Apoll uytbarstende in drollige rymen.* [...]. Amsterdam 1667.
- De gedebaucheerde en betoverde koffy- en thee-wereld,* [...]. Amsterdam 1701.
- De godsdienst het behoud van't vaderland. Tot een nieuwjaarswensch van de bestellers der boeken, weekbladen, en andere tijdschriften, uit de boekwinkel van L. Huisingsh.* Groningen 1787.
- De Koopman, of weekelysche by-dragen ten opbouw van Neêrlands koophandel en zeevaart* (1768–1776).
- De Olipodrigo bestaande in vrolijke gezangen, kusjes, rondeeltjes, levertjes, bruilofs- en mengel-rijmpjes.* Amsterdam 1654.
- De vryagie van Jan de Plug en Caat de Brakkin.* Amsterdam 1691–1692.
- De werken van Jan van Gysen; bestaande in desselfs Ernstige en Boertige heldendichten, &c. Derde deel.* Amsterdam 1711.
- De zingende kraamer of vermaakelyke Krispyn.* Amsterdam 1708.
- Elsland, J. van, *Het loterij-leeven.* Haarlem 1710.
- Europische Mercurius.*
- Exeter Flying Postman.*
- Favlse position ofte ofte Valschen regel van practijcke der Paepscher Kramers ende Kooplieden, met wat schalckheyt, bedrogh en de grove loghenen sy haren handel drijven.* Middelburg 1617.
- Generale inhoud van alle de Placaten, Ordonnantien, Resolutien, Statuten, Edicten, Handvesten, Privilegien, en andere Acten, begrepen in Ses Registers op het Groot Utrechts Placaetboek, Vermelt op de Bladzyde na de Voorrede volgende* [...]. Utrecht 1733.
- Gent, Th., *The Life of Mr. Thomas Gent, of York; written by Himself* [1746]. London 1832.
- The Gentleman's Magazine.*
- Groot placaet boeck,* 1658–1796.
- Gysen, J. van, *De osse markt, of 't Vervolg van de varke markt, klugtspel.* Amsterdam 1712.
- , *De Varke Markt, Klugtspel door Jan van Gyzen. Den Tweede Druk, van nieuws overzien, en van verscheide Druk Fouten verbeterd, door den Auteur.* Amsterdam 1712.
- , *De vermaakelyke Haarlemmer Hout. Zynde beplant met alderhande snakeryen.* Amsterdam 1715.
- , *Jan van Gysens 30^{ste} Maandaagse Amsterdamsche Mercurius; Verhaalende op een Boertige Wys, 't voornaamste Nieuws door heel Europa.* Amsterdam 1718.
- , *Jan van Gysens Lof der Vrouwen, of Wederlegging tegens het Leven van de Hedendaagsche Vrouwen.* Amsterdam 1711.
- , *Jan van Gyzens Disperaete Harlequin, Over het verliezen van zyn geld, en goed door de Acties* [...]. Amsterdam 1720.
- , *Jan van Gyzens Harlequin met de Rarekiek.* Amsterdam ca. 1714–1717.
- Hawkie: Autobiography of a gangrel.* Ed. John Strathesk. Glasgow 1888.
- Hennegat, J., *Het leven van de Heedendaagsche Vrouwen.* Amsterdam 1711.
- Het heil der liefde. Tot een nieuwjaarswensch van de bestellers der boeken, weekbladen, en andere tydschriften, uit den boekwinkel van L. Huisingsh.* Groningen 1785.
- Het vrolijke prentenboek voor kinderen.* Amsterdam 185X.

- Heuvel, H.M. van den, *Criminele vonnisboeken van Leiden, 1533–1811*. Leiden 1977–1978.
- J.R. [= Jacobus Rosseau], *Antwoord van de Post-ryder, op Jan van Gyzens 30^{ste} Mercurius*. Amsterdam 1718.
- Joris, Piet en koddige Kryn met zyn marsje, in de borrel winkel van lobbige Griet. Gedrukt voor minnaars van't vermaak. The Hague 17XX.
- Kendrew, J., *The Cries of London, for the instruction and amusement of good children* [...]. York [1820?].
- Kikkert, P., *Proeve van ets-kundige uitspanningen, of Verzameling van plaatjens* [...]. Amsterdam 1789.
- [Koning, E.], *Ware beschrijving wegens den levensloop van mij Egbert Koning, door wie dit boek zelf is gemaakt en uitgegeven in den ouderdom van 68 jaar*. [Spanbroek?] 1860.
- [Koning, H.], *De ongelukkige levensbeschrijving van een Amsterdammer* [...]. Amsterdam [1775]. ed. and introduction by M.J. Dekker. Amsterdam 1965.
- L'Ecole des files*. n.p. 1655.
- L'Estrange, R., *Considerations and Proposals in Order to the Regulation of the Press*. London 1663.
- Leuvensteijn, J.A. van, *De kluchten van Gerrit Hendericxs van Breughel*. Amsterdam 1985.
- Leydsche courant*.
- Lindhout, J. 't, *Na vijf-en-twintig jaren: levensherinneringen*. Nijmegen 1888.
- Love, D., *The life, adventures, and experiences of David Love*. Nottingham 1823.
- , *The life of David Love. Part 1. Containing his Birth, Parentage and Education with Several Curious Transactions During his Youth*. Newcastle ca. 1800.
- Magee, W., *Recollections of a personal interview with the late Laird of Dundonnell, at his cottage in Lochbroom during a tour through the North Highlands, in 1819–20. By an itinerant bookseller*. Edinburgh 1830.
- Maurik, J. van, 'Een wandeling op het Amstelveld', in J. van Maurik, *Papieren kinderen*. Utrecht and Antwerp 1985.
- Middelburgsche courant*.
- Mist's Weekly Journal*.
- Nieuwe Nederlandsche jaerboeken, of: Vervolg der merkwaardigste geschiedenissen, die voorgevallen zijn in de Vereenigde Provinciën (1765–1784)*.
- Nieuwsblad voor den boekhandel (1834–1980)*.
- Ogier, G., *De seven hooft-sonden, speels-ghewijs vermakelyck ende leersaem voor-gesteld*. Antwerp 1682.
- Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*.
- Paffenrode, J. van, *De bedroge girigheyd*. Gorinchem 1661.
- Pook, J., *De Hollebolle lachende dokter of den bereysden Hans Zing-zang*. Amsterdam 1715.
- Relaas van de beroertens op Parnassus. Ontstaan over het drukken van de beginselen der wijsbegeerte van den heer Renatus Descartes*. Amsterdam 1690.
- Riemsdijk, G.A. van (ed.), *De vrolijke kramer met Klijn Jans pleizierig en vermakelijk marsdragend hondje* [...]. Amsterdam 1946.
- Rosseau, J., *De Booter-markt, Klugtspel* [...]. Amsterdam 1718.
- , *Samenspraak gehouden in de and're waereld, tusschen Jan van Gyzen, en eenige and're versturte poëten*. Amsterdam 1722.
- Rotgans, L. *Boerekermis* (1715), ed. L. Strenghtolt, Gorinchem 1968.
- Ryland, E., *Cries of London or Child's Moral Instructor for the use of schools*. London ca. 1766.
- Sammers, J., *Klucht van den moetwilligen boots-gesel. Vertoont op de Amsterdamsche schouwburg*. Amsterdam 1687.
- Schuyt-praatje* [...] *over den godtloosen en onwettigen handel van een predikant van Delf* [...]. Delft 1658.
- Shakespeare, W., *The Winter's Tale* (1611). ed. Stephen Orgel, Oxford 1996.
- Smiles, S., *George Moore merchant and philanthropist*. London 1878.
- Smith, J. Th., *Ancient Topography of London*. London 1815.
- , *Vagabondiana*. London 1817.

- Some account of the travels of John Magee, pedlar and flying stationer, in North and South Britain, in the years 1806 and 1808.* Paisley 1826.
- Southey, R., *Letters from England*. [Boston 1807]. Ed. and with an introduction by Jack Simmons, London 1951.
- Sweerts, Hieronymus, *Koddige en ernstige opschriften, op luyffens, wagens, glazen, uithangborden en andere taferelen*. [1698–1700]. Photomechanical reprint, Zaltbommel 1969.
- The city and country chapmans almanack for the year our Lord 1685*. London 1685.
- The Cries of London*. London 1796 (further editions 1804 and ca. 1809).
- The English chapmans and travellers almanack for the year of Christ, 1696 [...]*. London 1695.
- The History of John Cheap the Chapman, Containing above a Hundred Merry Exploits done by him and his Fellow Traveller, Droughty Tom, a Sticket Shaver*. Edinburgh 1785.
- The Jack-of-all-Trades, or the Merry, Merry Cries of London*. Gainsborough 1794.
- Thirsis Minnewit. Bestaande in een verzameling van de aangenaamste Minne-Zangen en Voysen*. Vol. 3, Amsterdam 1713.
- Tombe en grafschriften voor Francois van der Linden, Vermaerd Kam- en Brilkramer; overleden te Rotterdam. Tweede en vermeerde druk*. [Rotterdam ca. 1742].
- Tombe en grafschriften voor Francois van der Linden, vermaerde kam en brilkramer overleden te Rotterdam*. [Rotterdam ca. 1742].
- Tombe en grafschriften, voor Francois van der Linden, vermaerde kam- en brilkramer; overleden te Rotterdam. Tweede en vermeerde druk. Met een korte levensbeschrijving*. [Rotterdam ca. 1742].
- Tot tijdverdrijf in ballingschap (1663–1665). Dagboek van Gerard Udinck*. Groningen 1988.
- Utrechtsche courant*.
- Vereenighde Nederlandschen raedt*. The Hague 1628.
- Vervolg van de Nederduitse Keurdigten. By een verzameld door de Liefhebberen der Oude Hollandse Vryheit*. Rotterdam 1717.
- Vervolg van Mr. Johan van de Waters Groot Plakkaatboek's lands van Utrecht. Van den vroegsten tijd af tot het jaar 1805*. Utrecht 1856.
- Water, J. van de, *Groot Placaatboek vervattende alle de placaten, ordonnantien en edicten, der Edele Mogende Heeren Staten's Lands van Utrecht; [...]*. 3 vols., Utrecht 1729.
- Westerbaen, J., *Gedichten*, 3 vols., The Hague 1672.
- Weyerman, J.C., *Den vrolyke tuchtheer (1729)*. Commentary by H.J. Hanou. 2 vols., Amsterdam 1982.
- Wilson, A. *The Loss of the Pack*. s.l.: s.n [1840?].
- Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*. 26 vols., Leiden 2007.

ELECTRONIC SOURCES AND DATABASES

- British Book Trade Index (BBTI): <http://www.bbti.bham.ac.uk>.
- Census Nederlands Toneel [Inventory Dutch plays] (Ceneton): www.let.leidenuniv.nl/Dutch/Ceneton.
- Dataschurk, Criminele vonnissen van 's Hertogenbosch en de Meierij, ca. 1550–1803 [Criminal records Den Bosch and De Meijerij]: www.stadsarchief.nl/stamboomarchief/dataschurk.
- Criminal justice and criminality in Amsterdam, 1680–1810 (*Database Sjoerd Faber*): <https://easy.dans.knaw.nl/ui/datasets/id/easy-dataset:30753>. Persistent identifier: urn:nbn:nl:ui:13-65w-prf.
- Akten van de Burgerlijke Stand Zeeland vanaf 1796/1811 and Huwelijksakten Middelburg 1811–1922 [Registry of marriages Zeeland]: www.zeeuwegezocht.nl/SISIS.
- National history of the book in the Netherlands: www.bibliopolis.nl.
- Salman Database of Dutch and English Pedlars 1600–1850: <http://hdl.handle.net/10411/10048>.
- Short Title Catalogue Netherlands: www.stcn.nl.
- Old Bailey Proceedings: www.oldbaileyonline.org.

SECONDARY SOURCES

- Alten, A. van, 'Het Utrechts boekbedrijf rond 1800. Een aanzet tot reconstructie', *De negentiende eeuw* 14 (1990), pp. 133–146.
- Altena, M., 'Een drukkerij van Weeskinderen. Johannes van 't Lindenhout en de weeshuis-drukkerij "Neerbosch" te Nijmegen (1870–1903)', *De boekenwereld* 13 (1996–97), pp. 49–53. Aptroot, M., 'Western Yiddish *yontev-blektekh*. Facing modernity with humor', *Jewish studies quarterly* 15 (2008), pp. 47–67.
- , and J. Michman, selected, ed. and trans., *Storm in the community. Yiddish polemical pamphlets of Amsterdam Jewry, 1797–1798*. Cincinnati 2002.
- Arents, A. 'Antwerpsche nieuwsbladen en courantiërs voor 1800', in A. Haseldonckx and J. Peeters (eds), *Zestig! Gedenkboek ter eere van Hendrik van Tichelen (1883–6 maart–1943)*. Hoogstraten 1943, pp. 143–151.
- Arnoldussen, P., *Amsterdamse markten. Vroeger en nu*. Amsterdam 2000.
- Baggerman, A., *Een lot uit de loterij. Familiebelangen en uitgeverijpolitiek in de Dordtse firma A. Blussé en Zoon, 1745–1823*. Den Haag 2000.
- Barnard, J., 'Introduction', in Barnard, McKenzie and Bell, *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, 4: 1–25.
- , and M. Bell, 'The English provinces', in Suarez and Turner, *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, 5: 665–686.
- , D.F. McKenzie and M. Bell, eds, *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, vol. 4: 1557–1695. Cambridge 2002.
- Beall, K.F., *Kaufleute und Strassenhändler. Cries and itinerant trades. Eine Bibliographie. A bibliography*. Hamburg 1975.
- Beavan, I., and W. McDougall, 'The Scottish book trade', in Suarez and Turner, *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, 5: 352–365.
- Beentjes, R., '"En de man hiet Jan van Gyzen": Een verslag van twaalf jaar lief en leed in *Jan van Gysens Weekeblyksche Amsterdamsche Merkuuren* (1710–1722)', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman* 17 (1994), pp. 1–15.
- Bell, M., 'Sturdy rogues and vagabonds: Restoration control of pedlars and hawkers', in P.C.G. Isaac and B. McKay (eds), *The mighty engine: the printing press and its impact*. Winchester and New Castle, Del. 2000, pp. 89–96.
- , and J. Hinks, 'The English provincial book trade: evidence from the British book trade index', in Suarez and Turner, *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, 5: 335–351.
- Berg, A. van den, *Hier komt Urbanus bij een hoer. Volk en volkslectuur in de achttiende-eeuwse Amsterdamse Nes*. Amsterdam 1993.
- Berg, W. van den, M.H.D. van Leeuwen and C. Lesger, 'Residentiele segregatie in Hollandse steden. Theorie, methodologie en empirische bevindingen voor Alkmaar en Amsterdam, 16^e–19^e eeuw', *Tijdschrift voor sociale geschiedenis* 24, no. 4 (1998), pp. 402–436.
- Bills, M., 'The cries of London by Paul Sandby and Thomas Rowlandson', *Print Quarterly* 20 (March 2003), pp. 34–41.
- Blaak, J., *Geletterde levens. Dagelijks lezen en schrijven in de vroegmoderne tijd in Nederland 1624–1770*. Hilversum 2004.
- Blagden, C., *The Stationers' Company. A history, 1403–1959*. London 1960.
- Bödeker, H.E., ed., *Histoire du livre. Nouvelles orientations*. Paris 1995.
- Bok, M.J., 'The rise of Amsterdam as a cultural centre: the market for paintings, 1580–1680', in P. O'Brien, D. Keene, M. 't Hart and H. van der Wee (eds), *Urban achievement in early modern Europe. Golden ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London*. Cambridge 2001, pp. 186–209.
- Borms, A., *Centsprenten. Massaproduct tussen heiligenprent en stripverhaal*. Den Haag 2010.
- Borst, H., 'Van Hilten, Broersz en Claessen. Handel in boeken en actueel drukwerk tussen Amsterdam en Leeuwarden rond 1639', *De zeventiende eeuw* 8 (1992), pp. 131–138.

- Boschloo, A.W.A., *The prints of the Remondinis. An attempt to reconstruct an eighteenth-century world of pictures*. Amsterdam 1998.
- , 'Reizende prentverkoopers in dienst van de Remondini', in K. Enenkel, P. van Heck and B. Westerweel (eds), *Reizen en reizigers in de Renaissance. Eigen en vreemd in oude en nieuwe werelden*. Amsterdam 1998, pp. 97–116.
- Bourdieu, P., 'The field of cultural production, or the economic world reversed', *Poetics* 12 (1983), pp. 311–356.
- , *Opstellen over smaak, habitus en het veldbegrip*, selected by Dick Pels. Amsterdam 1992.
- , *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge 1977.
- Bouwman, A., B. Dongelmans, P. Hoftijzer, E. van der Vlist and C. Vogelaar, *Stad van boeken. Handschrift en druk in Leiden 1260–2000*. Leiden 2008.
- Bowen, K.L., 'Peddling in texts and images. The Dutch visual perspective', in Harms, Raymond and Salman, *Not dead things*, Leiden and Boston 2013, pp. 153–180.
- , 'Sounding out a public's view of peddlars with texts. A consideration of images of peddlars in the Netherlands (1600–1850)', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis* 15 (2008), pp. 93–108.
- Braekman, W.L., 'De "Antwerpschen roep" en andere straatroepen', *Volkskunde* 100 (1991), pp. 27–72.
- , *Hier heb ik weer wat nieuws in d'hand. Marktlieiders, rolzangers en volkse poëzie van weleer*. Gent 1990.
- Brewer, J., 'Authors, publishers and literary culture', in D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery, *The book history reader*. London and New York 2006.
- Briels, J.G.C.A., *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkoopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570–1630*. Nieuwkoop 1974.
- Brochon, P., *Le livre de colportage en France depuis le XVI^e siècle. Sa littérature, ses lecteurs*. Paris 1954.
- Broersma, M., *Beschaafde vooruitgang. De wereld van de Leeuwarder Courant 1752–2002*. Groningen 2002.
- Brongers, G.A., *Pijpen en tabak*. Bussum 1964.
- Brood, P., *Belastingheffing in Drenthe 1600–1822*. Amsterdam 1991.
- Bruyn, E. de, *De vergeten beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch. De symboliek van de Hooiwaagentriep en de Rotterdamse Marskramers-Tondo verklaard vanuit Middelnederlandse teksten*. Den Bosch 2001.
- Bruyn, F. de, 'Het groote tafereel der dwaasheid and the speculative bubble of 1720. A bibliographical enigma and an economic force', *Eighteenth-century life* 24 (2000), pp. 67–68.
- Buijsters, P.J., 'Bibliografie van 18e-eeuwse spectatoriale tijdschriften in Nederland', *Documentatieblad werkgroep 18e eeuw* 1 (1968–71), pp. 38–47, 126–139.
- Buijsters-Smets, L., *Straatverkoopers in beeld. Tekeningen en prenten van Nederlandse kunstenaars circa 1540–1850*. Nijmegen 2012.
- Buisman, M., *Populaire prozaschrijvers van 1600 tot 1815. Romans, novellen, verhalen, levensbeschrijvingen, arcadia's, sprookjes. Alfabetische naamlijst*. Amsterdam 1960.
- Burke, P., *The European renaissance: centres and peripheries*. Oxford 1998.
- , 'From pioneers to settlers: recent studies of the history of popular culture. A review article', *Comparative studies in society and history* 25 (1983), pp. 181–187.
- , 'The history of mentalities in Great Britain', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 93 (1980), pp. 529–540.
- , *Popular culture in early modern Europe*. 1978, rev. ed. London 1994.
- , *A social history of knowledge. From Gutenberg to Diderot*. Cambridge 2000.
- Bywaters D., and S. Shesgreen, 'The first London cries for children', *The Princeton University Library chronicle* 59 (1998), pp. 236–250.
- Campen, J.C.W. van, 'Advertenties uit de Utrechtse courant' (1792)', *Jaarboek van Oud-Utrecht* (1961), pp. 101–161.
- Capp, B., *English almanacs 1500–1800. Astrology and the popular press*. Ithaca 1979.

- Cavallo, G., and R. Chartier, eds, *A history of reading in the West*. Cambridge 1999.
- Chandler, K., extracted and compiled, *Gypsies hawkers and other Travellers in the English South Midlands. An anthology of references from local newspapers 1744–1911*. Oxford 2005.
- , extracted and compiled, *More Gypsies hawkers and other travellers in the English South Midlands and including East Anglia, The Home Counties and the South East. A further anthology of references from local newspapers 1759–1923*. Oxford 2007.
- Chartier, R., 'Culture as appropriation. Popular cultural uses in early modern France', in S. Kaplan (ed.), *Understanding popular culture*. Berlin 1984, pp. 229–253.
- , 'Reading matter and "popular reading". From the Renaissance to the seventeenth century', in Cavallo and Chartier, *A history of reading in the West*, pp. 269–283.
- , 'Stratégies éditoriales et lectures populaires, 1530–1660', in H.J. Martin and R. Chartier (eds), *Histoire de l'édition Française*, vol. 1. Paris 1983, pp. 585–603.
- , and H.-J. Lüsebrink, *Colportage et lecture populaire. Imprimés de large circulation en Europe XVIe–XIXe siècles*. Paris 1996.
- Claeyssens, S., "'Een fatsoenlijk colporteur verkoopt niet". Salomon van Raalte brengt Derkinderens *Gijsbrecht van Aemstel* aan de man', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis* 9 (2002), pp. 133–148.
- Clayton, T., *The English print 1688–1802*. London 1997.
- Clegg, S., 'History of the book: an undisciplined discipline?', *Renaissance quarterly* 54 (2001), pp. 221–245.
- Couvée, D.H., 'The administration of the *Oprechte Haarlemse Courant*, 1738–1742', *Gazette* 4 (1958), pp. 91–110.
- , *Van kranten en courantiers uit de 17de en 18de eeuw*. s.l. 1951.
- Cruz, L., *The paradox of prosperity. The Leiden bookseller's guild and the distribution of books in early modern Europe*. New Castle, Del. 2009.
- Dahl, F., 'Amsterdam. Earliest newspaper centre of western Europe', *Het boek* 25 (1938–39), pp. 160–197.
- Damme, I. van, *Verleiden en verkopen. Antwerpse kleinhandelaars en hun klanten in tijden van crisis (ca. 1648–ca. 1748)*. Amsterdam 2007.
- Daniëls, A.W.E., 'Toezicht op publicatie van drukwerk in Utrecht (1597–1749)'. M.A. thesis Master thesis Utrecht University, Utrecht 1997.
- Darnton, R., *Édition et sédition. L'univers de la littérature clandestine au XVIIIe siècle*. Paris 1991.
- , *The literary underground of the Old Regime*. Cambridge 1982.
- , 'What is the history of the book?', *Daedalus* 111, no. 3 (1982), pp. 65–83.
- Deceulaer, H., 'Dealing with diversity. Pedlars in the Southern Netherlands in the eighteenth century', in B. Blondé, P. Stabel, J. Stobart and I. van Damme (eds), *Buyers and sellers. Retail circuits and practices in medieval and early modern Europe*. Turnhout 2006, pp. 171–198.
- Dekker, R., and L. van de Pol, "'Wat hoort men niet al vreemde dingen'", *Spiegel historiael* 17 (1982), pp. 486–493.
- Delft, M. van et al., *Bibliopolis. History of the printed book in the Netherlands*. Zwolle, Den Haag 2003.
- Delsaerd, Pierre, ed., *'Abuysen ende ongeregeltheden'. Een onbekend rapport over de boekhandel in Brabant in de zeventiende eeuw*. Essen 2002.
- Deursen, A.T. van, *Een Hollands dorp in de polder*. Amsterdam 1994.
- Diederiks, H.A., D.J. Noordam et al., *Armoede en sociale spanning. Sociaal-historische studies over Leiden in de achttiende eeuw*. Hilversum 1985.
- Dijstelberge, P., 'De beer is los! Ursilica: een database van typografisch materiaal uit het eerste kwart van de zeventiende eeuw als instrument voor het identificeren van drukken', PhD thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2007.
- Dongelmans, B.P.M., *Van Alkmaar tot Zwijndrecht. Alfabet van boekverkopers, drukkers en uitgevers in Noord-Nederland 1801–1850*. Amsterdam 1988.
- Dubiez, F.J., 'Een aantal Amsterdamse boekhandelaren in en rond de oude koopmansbeurs', *Ons Amsterdam* 9, no. 1 (1957), pp. 194–201.

- Eeghen, I.H. van, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel, 1680–1725*, 5 vols. Amsterdam 1961–78.
- , 'De Amsterdamse courant in de achttiende eeuw', *Jaarboek van het genootschap Amstelodamum* 44 (1950), pp. 31–58.
- , *De gilden: Theorie en praktijk*, Bussum 1974.
- , 'De Oudemanhuispoort', *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 66 (1979), pp. 125–130.
- Eijnck, A., H. Mertens-Westphalen, H. Kaiser, H.W. Saaltink, P. Schonewillen, eds, *Werken over de grens. 350 Jaar geld verdienen in het buitenland*. Assen 1993.
- Egmont, F., *Op het verkeerde pad. Georganiseerde misdaad in de Noordelijke Nederlanden 1650–1850*. Amsterdam 1994.
- Evans, M.L., 'Paintings, prints and politics during the American War. Henry Walton's A Girl Buying a Ballad', *Print quarterly* 19, no. 1 (2002), pp. 12–23.
- Everard, M., 'In en om de (Nieuwe) Bataafsche Vrouwe Courant. Het aandeel van vrouwen in een revolutionaire politieke cultuur', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman* 24, no. 1 (2001), pp. 67–86.
- Evers, G.A., 'Boek en prentverkoopers op de Utrechtse kermis', *Bibliotheekleven* 2 (1917), pp. 311–315.
- Faber, S., *Strafrechtspleging en criminaliteit te Amsterdam, 1680–1811. De nieuwe menslievendheid* (Arnhem 1983).
- Fairchilds, C., 'The production and marketing of populuxe goods in eighteenth-century Paris', in J. Brewer and R. Porter (eds), *Consumption and the world of goods*. London and New York 1994, pp. 228–248.
- , review of *History of Pedlars in Europe* by Laurence Fontaine, *Journal of Social History* 32, no. 2 (1998), p. 494.
- Feather, J., 'The history of the English provincial book trade. A research agenda', in B. McKay, J. Hinks and M. Bell (eds), *Light on the book trade. Essays in honour of Peter Isaac*. New Castle, Del. 2004, pp. 1–12.
- , *The provincial book trade in eighteenth century England*. Cambridge 1985.
- Ferdinand, C.Y., *Benjamin Collins and the provincial newspaper trade*. Oxford 1997.
- , 'The economics of the 18th century provincial book trade: The case of Ward and Chandler', in M. Bell, S. Chew, S. Eliot, L. Hunter and J.L.W. West (eds), *Re-constructing the book. Literary texts in transmission*. London 2001, pp. 42–56.
- , 'Newspapers and the sale of books in the provinces', in Barnard, McKenzie and Bell, *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, 4: 434–447.
- Foncke, R., 'Losse aantekeningen betreffende boeckbinders en -handelaars van Oud-Mechelen', *Het boek* 7 (1918), p. 13.
- Fontaine, L., *History of pedlars in Europe*. Cambridge 1996.
- Fontaine Verwey, H. de la, *Meester Harman Schinckel. Een Delftse boekdrukker van de 16e eeuw*. Rotterdam 1963.
- Forrer, Kuniko, 'Drie ordonnanties van het Utrechtse Boekdrukkersgilde', *Jaarboek Oud Utrecht* (2006), pp. 84–119.
- Fox, J., 'Ds. Haebele Potter. Een Fries predikant te Amsterdam in de jaren 1807–1809', *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 46 (1959), pp. 99–106.
- Freist, D., *Governed by opinion. Politics, religion and the dynamics of communication in Stuart London, 1637–1645*. London 1997.
- Frijhoff, W., and M. Prak, eds, *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam*. vol. 2.2: *Zelfbewuste stadstaat 1650–1813*. Amsterdam 2005.
- Gatrell, V.A.C., *The hanging tree: Execution and the English people, 1770–1868*. Oxford 1994.
- 'Gijsen, Jan van', in J.G. Frederiks and F.J. van den Branden (eds), *Biographisch woordenboek der Noord- en Zuidnederlandsche letterkunde*. 1878, 2nd ed., Amsterdam 1892, p. 279.
- Gimpel, C.J., 'Jan van Gijsen, de Amsterdamsche volkspoët', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 17 (1919), pp. 81–113.
- Goinga, H. van, '1725–1830 – Distribution – Kinds of booksellers', in *Bibliopolis. History of the printed book in the Netherlands*. Zwolle and Den Haag 2003.
- , *Alom te bekomen. Veranderingen in de boekdistributie in de Republiek 1720–1800*. Amsterdam 1999.

- , 'Een blik op de praktijk van de Nederlandse boekhandel omstreeks 1785: Christoffel Frederik Koenig, uitgever van volksblaadjes, Leiden 1782–178', *De achttiende eeuw* 25 (1993), pp. 39–72.
- , 'Schaduwbeelden. Vrouwen in het boekenvak in de vroegmoderne tijd: een nieuw terrein van onderzoek', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis* 12 (2005), pp. 13–28.
- , and J. Salman, 'De achttiende eeuw: expansie en begrenzing van de interne markt', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis* 17 (2010), pp. 171–219.
- Goulden, R.J., 'Some chancery lawsuits 1714–1758. An analytical list'. [Typescript] Croydon 1983.
- Gouw, J. ter, *De volksvermaken*. Haarlem 1871.
- Graft, C.C. van de, 'Van de Botermarkt en een Amsterdamse straatzanger', in *Ons Amsterdam* 3 (1951), p. 251.
- Graham, R., *Pieter de Vos, De lof van de Bottermarkt*. Gerymt door Pieter de Vos en met houtsneden van Rigby Graham. Banholt 1980.
- Griffin, C., *Journeyman-printers, heresy, and the inquisition in sixteenth-century Spain*. Oxford 2005.
- Griffiths, A., *The print in Stuart Britain*. London 1998.
- Grundy, I., 'Women and print: readers, writers and the market', in Suarez and Turner, *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, 5: 146–159.
- Gruys, J.A., and C. de Wolf, *Thesaurus 1473–1800. Nederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkoopers. Met plaatsen en jaren van werkzaamheid*. Nieuwkoop 1989. Updated electronic edition: www.bibliopolis.nl.
- Haines, S., 'A good read. East Sussex bookhawking Association, 1855–1888', in *Sussex archaeological collections* 124 (1986), pp. 227–241.
- Hagen, J., 'Ze zijn couser, koop se gerust. Joodse lotenverkoopers in de 18^{de} eeuw', *Spiegel Historiael* 36 (2001), pp. 194–200, 220.
- Halberstadt, A., 'Botermarkt en kaasplein', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 8 (1910), pp. 155–180.
- Hanou, A., "'Hier van daan naar moeder Mallet". Liedjes in het werk van Kinker', in G.J. Bork and N. Laan (eds), *Kunst & LetterKunst. Opstellen voor George Vis*. Amsterdam 2000, pp. 60–76.
- Harline, C.E., *Pamphlets, printing and political culture in the early Dutch Republic*. Dordrecht 1987.
- Harms, R., 'Handel in Letteren. De ambulante handel in actueel drukwerk in zeventiende-eeuws Amsterdam', *De zeventiende eeuw* 23 (2007), pp. 216–229.
- , *Pamfletten en publieke opinie. Massamedia in de zeventiende eeuw*. Amsterdam 2011.
- , 'Thievery of literature. Consequences of the interaction between politics and commerce for the form and content of pamphlets', in F. Deen, D. Onnekink and M. Reinders (eds), *Pamphlets and Politics in the Dutch Republic*. Leiden 2011, pp. 37–62.
- , J. Raymond and J. Salman, eds, *Not dead things: The dissemination of popular print in England and Wales, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500–1900*. Leiden and Boston 2013.
- Harris, M., 'The book trade in public places: London street booksellers, 1690–1850', in Myers, Harris and Mandelbrote, *Fairs, markets and the itinerant book trade*, pp. 187–211.
- , 'A few shillings for small books: the experience of a flying stationer in the 18th century', in Myers and Harris, *Spreading the word*, pp. 83–108.
- , 'London newspapers', in Suarez and Turner, *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, 5: 413–433.
- , *London newspapers in the age of Walpole*. London 1987.
- Heel, D. van, *De Goudse drukkers en hun uitgaven*. 12 vols. Gouda 1951–1953.
- Heijbroek, J.F., 'From simple print-seller to renowned art dealer. Frans Buffa & Sons in Amsterdam (c. 1785–1951)', in A. Milano (ed.), *Commercio della stampe e diffusione delle immagini nei secoli XVIII e XIX. Trade and circulation of popular prints during the XVIII and XIX centuries*. Rovereto 2008, pp. 207–212.
- , 'Van eenvoudige prentenkoopman tot gerenommeerde kunsthandelaar: Frans Buffa & Zonen in Amsterdam (ca. 1785–1951)', *De boekenwereld* 23 (2006–7), pp. 50–66.

- Heuvel, D. van den, 'Partner in marriage and business? Guilds and the family economy in urban food markets in the Dutch Republic', *Continuity and Change* 23, no. 2 (2008), pp. 217–236.
- , 'Selling in the shadows. Peddlers and hawkers in early modern Europe', in M. van der Linden and L. Lucassen (eds), *Working on labor. Essays in honor of Jan Lucassen*. Leiden and Boston 2012, pp. 125–151.
- , *Women and entrepreneurship. Female traders in the Northern Netherlands c. 1580–1815*. Amsterdam 2007.
- Hinks, J., and M. Bell, 'The book trade in English provincial towns 1700–1849. An evaluation of evidence from the British book trade index', *Publishing history* 57 (2005), pp. 53–112.
- Hitchcock, T., *Down and out in eighteenth-century London*. London and New York 2004.
- Hoftijzer, P.G., *Pieter van der Aa (1659–1733). Leids drukker en boekverkoper*. Hilversum 1999.
- , "'A sickle unto thy neighbour's corn'. Book piracy in the Dutch Republic', *Quaerendo* 27 (1997), pp. 3–18.
- , 'Women in the early modern Dutch book trade', in S. van Dijk, L. van Gemert and S. Ottoway (eds), *Writing the history of women's writing. Towards an international approach*. Amsterdam 2001, pp. 211–222.
- Hollstein, F.W., K.G. Boon and D. de Hoop Scheffer (eds), *Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700*. Amsterdam 1949–1964, Amsterdam 1974–1987, Roosendaal 1988–1994, Rotterdam 1995–2004; Ouderkerk aan den IJssel 2005–present.
- , et al. (eds), *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings, and woodcuts, 1450–1700*, Roosendaal 1993–94, Rotterdam 1995–2004; Ouderkerk aan den IJssel 2005–present (82 vols).
- Hooenboom, A.M.E.L., *'De stand des kunstenaars.' De positie van kunstschilders in Nederland in de eerste helft van de negentiende eeuw*. Utrecht 1991.
- Houston, R., review of *Small books and pleasant histories: popular fiction and its readership in seventeenth century England* by Margaret Spufford, *Social History* 8 (1983), pp. 385–387.
- Hummelen, W.M.H., *Repertorium van het rederijdersdrama 1500–ca. 1620*. Assen 1968.
- Hunt, M., 'Hawkers, bawlers, and mercuries: women and the London press in the early Enlightenment', in M. Hunt, M. Jacob, P. Mack and R. Perry, *Women and the Enlightenment*. New York 1984, pp. 41–68.
- Huussen, A.H., 'De rechtspraak in strafzaken voor het Hof van Holland in het eerste kwart van de achttiende eeuw', *Holland* 8 (1976), pp. 116–139.
- Jansen, L., 'De geschiedenis van het marktwezen', *Ons Amsterdam* 11 (1959), pp. 306–321.
- Jones, K.F., 'Street cries in pictures', *The quarterly journal of the Library of Congress* 25 (1968), pp. 7–24.
- Jongenelen, T., 'Bevochten vrijheid. Nederlandse letterkunde in een historische context', *Spiegel der letteren* 46 (2004), pp. 381–391.
- , *Van smaad tot erger. Amsterdamse boekverboden 1747–1794*. Amsterdam 1998.
- Jongh, E. de., 'Erotica in vogelperspectief. De dubbelzinnigheid van een reeks zeventiende-eeuwse genrevoorstellingen', in E. de Jongh, *Kwesties van betekenis. Thema en motief in de Nederlandse schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw*. Leiden 1995, pp. 21–58.
- Kemper, S., 'Colportage in de Republiek. De betekenis van de zeventiende-eeuwse boekkramer', Masterthesis, University of Leiden, 1989.
- Kleerkooper, M.M., and W.P. van Stockum Jr, *De boekhandel te Amsterdam voornamelijk in de 17e eeuw. Biographische en geschiedkundige aantekeningen*, 2 vols. 's-Gravenhage 1914–16.
- Klep, P.M.M., A. Lansink and W.F.M. Terwisscha van Scheltinga, *De Registers van patentplichtigen, 1805–1893*. Den Haag 1982.
- Kloek, J., and W. Mijnhardt, *1800: Blauwdrukken voor een samenleving*. Den Haag 2001.
- Knuttel, W.P.C., *Verboden boeken in de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden. Beredeneerde catalogus*. The Hague 1914.
- Komrij, G., ed., *De drekpoëten. Uit het werk van Salomon van Rusting, Jan Goeree, Hermanus van den Burg en consorten*. Amsterdam 2002.

- Koopmans, J., and P. Verhuycck, *Een kijk op anekdotencollecties in de zeventiende eeuw. Jan Zoet: Het leven en bedrijf van Clément Marot*. Amsterdam and Atlanta 1991.
- Kossmann, E.F., *De boekverkoopers, notarissen en cramers op het Binnenhof*. The Hague 1932.
- , 'De liedjesdrukken van Klein Jan', *Het Boek* 25 (1938), pp. 119–151.
- Kossmann, F.K.H., *De Nederlandsche straatzanger en zijn liederen in vroeger eeuwen*. Kampen 1941.
- Kouwenaar, D, 'Justus van Maurik Jr herdacht', *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 33(1946), pp. 65–67.
- Kruseman, A.C., *Bouwstoffen voor een geschiedenis van den Nederlandschen boekhandel gedurende de halve eeuw 1830–1880*. Amsterdam 1886–87.
- Kuitert, L., 'De Kolporteur (1868–1889). Vakblad voor een gefrustreerde beroepsgroep', *Geboekt in jaargangen. Anderhalve eeuw boekentijdschriften in Nederland*. Special issue *Boekenwereld* 10 (1994), pp. 36–40.
- , 'Grote boeken voor de kleine man. Colportage in Nederland in de negentiende eeuw', *De negentiende eeuw* 20 (1996), pp. 93–105.
- Laan, K. ter, *Letterkundig woordenboek voor Noord en Zuid*. Den Haag 1941.
- Langendijk, P., 'Grafchrift op een drekpoët', in G. Komrij (ed.), *De drekpoëten. Uit het werk van Salomon van Rusting, Jan Goeree, Hermanus van den Burg en consorten*. Amsterdam 2002, p. 8.
- Leemans, I., *Het woord is aan de onderkant. Radicale ideeën in Nederlandse pornografische romans 1670–1700*. Nijmegen 2002.
- Lesger, C., 'De locatie van het Amsterdamse winkelbedrijf in de achttiende eeuw', *Tijdschrift voor sociale en economische geschiedenis* 4 (2007), pp. 35–70.
- Leuker, M.-T., *'De last van 't huys, de wil des mans ...' Frauenbilder und Ehekonzepte im niederländischen Lustspiel des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Münster 1992.
- Leuvensteijn, J.A. van, *De kluchten van Gerrit Hendericxsx van Breughel*. 3 vols. Amsterdam 1985.
- Linden Vooren, P.A. van der, 'Het straatleven omstreeks 1900', *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 29 (1942), pp. 12–15.
- , 'Rembrandtsplein en Amstelstraat', *Ons Amsterdam* 7 (1955), pp. 50–53.
- Lindenhout, J. 't, *Na vijf-en-twintig jaren. Levensherinneringen*. Nijmegen 1888.
- Lippincott, L., *Selling art in Georgian London. The rise of Arthur Pond*. New Haven 1983.
- Lord, P., 'Words with pictures. Welsh images and images of Wales in the popular press', in P. Isaac and B. McKay (eds), *Images and texts. Their production and distribution in the 18th and 19th century*, New Castle, Del. 1997, pp. 163–180.
- Lourens, P., and J. Lucassen, *Inwonertallen van Nederlandse steden, ca. 1300–1800*. Amsterdam 1997.
- Lucassen, J., *Naar de kusten van de Noordzee. Trekarbeid in Europees Perspektief, 1600–1900*. Gouda 1984.
- , and L. Lucassen, 'Marskramers uit Meijel en omgeving: de Teuten, 1750–1830', *Medelo* 2 (1983).
- Mandemakers, K., and O. Boonstra, *De levensloop van de Utrechtse bevolking in de 19^{de} eeuw*. Van Gorcum 1995.
- Mandrou, R., *De la culture populaire aux 17^e et 18^e siècles. La Bibliothèque Bleue de Troyes*. Paris 1964.
- Marsh, C., *Music and society in early modern England*. Cambridge 2010.
- Martin, F., 'Mißratenes Genie oder törichter Koch? Der Amsterdamer Straßensänger Cees Meijer (1818–1885)', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Volksarchivs* 32 (1987), pp. 93–106.
- Martin, R., 'De liedjeszanger als massamedium; Straatzangers in de achttiende en negentiende eeuw', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 97 (1984), pp. 422–446.
- Maurik, J. van, 'Een wandeling op het Amstelveld', in J. van Maurik, *Papieren kinderen*. Utrecht and Antwerp 1985, pp. 40–57.
- Maxted, I., *The Devon book trades: a bibliographical dictionary*. Exeter Working Paper 7. Exeter 1999.

- 'Education, dissemination of knowledge, and language. Printing, the book trade and newspapers c. 1500–1860', in R. Kain and W. Ravenhill (eds) *Historical atlas of south-west England*. Exeter 1999, pp. 240–245.
- , "Four rotten corn bags and some old books". The impact of the printed word in Devon', in R. Myers and M. Harris (eds), *Sale and distribution of books from 1700*. Oxford 1982, pp. 37–76.
- , *A history of the book in Devon*. Exeter 2001, <http://bookhistory.blogspot.com>.
- , *The London book trades, 1735–1775: a checklist of members in trade directories and in Musgrave's 'Obituary'*. Exeter 1984.
- , *The London book trades, 1775–1800: a preliminary checklist of members*. Folkestone 1977.
- , 'Single sheets from a country town: the example of Exeter', in Myers and Harris, *Spreading the word*, pp. 109–129.
- Mayhew, H., *London labour and the London poor*. Unabridged republ. of the ed. London 1861–1862, New York 1968.
- McDowell, P., "'The manufacture and lingua-facture of ballad-making". Broadside Ballads in Long Eighteenth-Century Ballad Discourse', *The eighteenth century: Theory and interpretation* 47 (2006), pp. 149–176.
- , *The women of Grub Street. Press, politics, and gender in the London literary marketplace 1678–1730*. Oxford 1998.
- McKenzie, D.F., 'Printing and publishing 1557–1700: constraints on the London book trades,' in Barnard, McKenzie and Bell, *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, 4: 553–567.
- , *The London book trade in the later seventeenth century*. Cambridge 1976.
- , and M. Bell, *The chronology and calendar of documents relating to the London book trade 1641–1700*. Oxford 2005.
- McLean, S.A., 'Cleansing the hawkers' basket. Popular literature and the cheap periodical press in Scotland', *Studies in Scottish literature* 32 (2001), pp. 88–100.
- Mertens, J., 'De vier dorpen van den Bank van Pelt (16de–17de eeuw)', in *Bijdrage tot de kennis van de Loonse Kempenhandel en van de teutenhandel*. Overpelt 1984.
- Meyer, M. de, *De volks- en kinderprent in de Nederlanden van de 15^e tot de 20^e eeuw*. Antwerp and Amsterdam 1962.
- Milano, A., ed., *Commercio della stampe e diffusione delle immagini nei secoli XVIII e XIX. Trade and circulation of popular prints during the XVIII and XIX centuries*. Rovereto 2008.
- Morris, J., 'Scottish Ballads and Chapbooks', in P. Isaac and B. McKay (eds), *Images and texts. Their production and distribution in the 18th and 19th Centuries*. Winchester 1997, pp. 89–111.
- , 'The Scottish Chapman', in Myers, Harris and Mandelbrote, *Fairs, markets and the itinerant book trade*, pp. 159–186.
- Muller, F. 'Een enkel woord over volksbibliotheken, volksletterkunde, colportage', in *Praktische volks-almanak*. Haarlem 1862, pp. 155–172.
- Myers, R. 'The Stationers' Company and the almanack trade', in Suarez and Turner, *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, 5: 723–735.
- , and M. Harris, *Spreading the word. The distribution networks of print 1550–1850*. New Castle, Del. 1998.
- , M. Harris and G. Mandelbrote, eds, *Fairs, markets and the itinerant book trade*. New Castle, Del. 2007.
- Naggar, B., *Jewish peddlars and hawkers 1740–1940*. Camberley 1992.
- Neele, A., *De Ontdekking van het Zeeuwse Platteland. Culturele Verhoudingen tussen Stad en Platteland in Zeeland 1750–1850*. Zwolle 2011.
- Nierop, H. van, 'Censorship, illicit printing and the Revolt in the Netherlands', in A.C. Duke and C.A. Damse (eds), *Too mighty to be free. Censorship and the press in Britain and the Netherlands*. Zutphen 1987, pp. 29–44.
- Nierop, L. van, 'De handeldrijvende middenstand te Amsterdam in 1742', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 45 (1953), pp. 193–230.
- O'Connell, S., *The popular print in England, 1550–1850*. London 1999.

- Oldewelt, W.F.H., 'De zelfkant van de Amsterdamse samenleving en de groei van de bevolking', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 77 (1964), pp. 39–56.
- Palmen, E., *Kaat Mossel, Helleveeg van Rotterdam. Volk en Verlichting in Rotterdam in de achttiende eeuw*. Amsterdam 2009.
- Panhuyzen, B.S., *Maatwerk. Kleermakers, naaisters, oudkleerkopers en de gilden (1500–1800)*. Utrecht 2000.
- Pannekeet, J., 'Een singulier boekseke', in *West-Frieslands Oud en Nieuw* (1978), pp. 26–36.
- Paulson, R., *Hogarth's Graphic Works*. 1965, 3rd ed. London 1989.
- Peacey, J., 'Wandering with pamphlets: The infrastructure of news circulation in civil war', in Harms, Raymond, and Salman, *Not dead things*, pp. 97–114.
- Pietersma, A., ed., 'Een paradijs vol weelde'. *Geschiedenis van de stad Utrecht*. Utrecht 2000.
- Pleij, H., 'De betekenis van de beginnende drukpers voor de ontwikkeling van de Nederlandse literatuur in Noord en Zuid', *Spektator* 21 (1992), pp. 227–263.
- Poffé, E., 'Een onbekend Antwerpsch Nieuwsblad uit de 18^{de} eeuw', *Het boek* 1 (1912), pp. 238–242.
- Pol, L. van der, *Het Amsterdamse hoerdom. Prostitutie in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*. Amsterdam 1996.
- Popkin, J.D., 'The book trades in Europe during the revolutionary era', *The papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 78 (1984), pp. 403–445.
- Porteman, K., and M.B. Smits-Veldt, *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1560–1700*. Amsterdam 2009.
- Postle, M., *Angels and urchins. The fancy picture in 18th-century British art*. London 1998.
- Raines, R., *Marcellus Laroon*. London 1967.
- Raven, J., *The business of books. Booksellers and the English book trade*. New Haven and London 2007.
- Raymond, J., *Pamphlets and pamphleteering in early modern Britain*. Cambridge 2003.
- Rees, K. van, and G.J. Dorleijn, 'The eighteenth-century literary field in western Europe. The interdependence of material and symbolic production and consumption', *Poetics* 28 (2003), pp. 331–348.
- Reeser, H., trans. and comm., 'Het dagverhaal van H.C. Andersens bezoeken aan Amsterdam', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 59 (1967), pp. 149–175.
- Reinders, M., *Printed pandemonium. The power of the public and the market for popular political publications in the early modern Dutch Republic*. Rotterdam 2008.
- Reininghaus, W., ed., *Wanderhandel in Europa. Beiträge zur wissenschaftlichen Tagung in Ibbenbüren, Mettingen, Recke and Hopsten vom 9.–11 Oktober 1992*. Dortmund 1993.
- Rigby, B., *Popular culture in modern France. A study of cultural discourse*. London and New York 1991.
- Rosenberg, J., S. Slive and E.H. ter Kuile, *Dutch art and architecture 1600–1800*. New York 1986.
- Rowe, M.M., and A.M. Jackson, eds, *Exeter Freeman, 1266–1967*, Exeter 1973.
- Salman, J., 'Between reality and representation. The image of the pedlar in the 18th century Dutch Republic', in M. van Delft, Fr. de Glas and J. Salman (eds), *New perspectives in book history. Contributions from the Low Countries*. Zutphen 2006, pp. 189–202.
- , 'Children's books as a commodity. The rise of a new literary subsystem in the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic', *Poetics* 28 (2000), pp. 399–421.
- , 'De fictieve wereld en harde werkelijkheid van liedzangers en straatverkopers', in 27/01/2008. *Opstellen ter gelegenheid van het afscheid van P.J. Verkruysse*, ed. P. Dijkstra. Amsterdam 2008, pp. 330–337. <http://issuu.com/bookhistory/docs/piet203>.
- , 'A German standard in Dutch children's literature (1750–1840)?', in J. Konst, I. Leemans and B. Noak (eds), *Niederländisch-deutsche Literaturbeziehungen 1600–1830*. Göttingen 2009, pp. 327–342.
- , 'Grub Street in Amsterdam? Jacobus (I) van Egmont, the Devil's Corner and the literary underground in the eighteenth century', *Quaerendo* 42 (2012), pp. 134–157.
- , 'Het nieuws op straat. Pamfletten en couranten in het vroegmoderne distributienetwerk', in M. Meijer Drees, J. de Kruijff and J. Salman (eds), *Het lange leven van het*

- pamflet. *Boekhistorische, iconografische, literaire en politieke aspecten van pamfletten, 1600–1900*. Hilversum 2006, pp. 56–67.
- , 'Peddling in the past. Dutch itinerant bookselling in a European perspective', *Publishing History* 53 (2003), pp. 5–19.
- , *Populair drukwerk in de Gouden Eeuw. De almanak als lectuur en handelswaar*. Zutphen 1999.
- , 'Schrijvers uit een andere wereld. De onderkant van de literaire markt in 1722', in J. Bos and Erik Geleijns (eds), *Boekenwijsheid. Drie eeuwen kennis en cultuur in 30 bijzondere boeken*. Zutphen 2009, pp. 195–203.
- , "'Vreemde loopers en kramers." De ambulante boekhandel in de achttiende eeuw', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis* 8 (2001), pp. 73–98.
- , 'Watching the pedlar's movements: itinerant distribution in the urban Netherlands', in Myers, Harris and Mandelbrote, *Fairs, markets and the itinerant book trade*, pp. 137–158.
- Salzberg, R., "'Selling stories and many other things in and through the city." Peddling print in Renaissance Florence and Venice', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 42 (2011), pp. 737–759.
- Santen, G.C. van, *Lichte Wigger en Snappende Sütgen. Zeventiende-eeuwse gesprekken in Delfts dialect*. Assen 1959.
- Scheidt, G., *Der Kolportagebuchhandel (1869–1905). Eine systemtheoretische Rekonstruktion*. Stuttgart 1994.
- Schenda, R., *Volk ohne Buch. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der populären Lesestoffe 1770–1910*. Frankfurt am Main 1970.
- Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, M.A. (ed.), *Nederlandse literatuur, een geschiedenis*. Amsterdam 1998.
- Selm, B. van, "'Almanacken, lietjes, en somwijl wat wonder, wat nieuw". Volkslectuur in de Noordelijke Nederlanden (1480–1800): een onbekende grootheid', *Leidschrift* 5, no. 3 (1989), pp. 33–68.
- , *Een menigte treffelijke boeken. Nederlandse boekhandelscatalogi in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw*. Utrecht 1987.
- Shepard, L., *The history of street literature. The story of broadside ballads, chapbooks, proclamations, news-sheets, election bills, tracts, pamphlets, cocks, catchpennies, and other ephemera*. Newton Abbot 1973.
- Shesgreen, S., *The criers and hawkers of London: engravings and drawings by Marcellus Laroon*. Aldershot 1990.
- , *Images of the outcast: The urban poor in the cries of London*. Manchester 2002.
- Shoemaker, R.B., *The London mob. Violence and disorder in eighteenth-century England*. London and New York 2004.
- Shorter, A.H., *Paper mills and paper makers in England, 1495–1800*. Hilversum 1967.
- Simmons, R.C., 'ABCs, almanacs, ballads, chapbooks, popular piety and textbooks', in Barnard, McKenzie and Bell, *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, 4: 504–513.
- Solkin, D.H., *Painting for money: the visual arts and the public sphere in eighteenth-century England*. New Haven 1993.
- Spufford, M., 'Drukwerk voor de armen in Engeland en Nederland, 1450–1700', in T. Bijvoet, P. Koopman, L. Kuitert, and G. Verhoeven (eds), *Bladeren in andermans hoofd. Over lezers en leescultuur*. Nijmegen 1996, pp. 74–75.
- , *The great reclothing of rural England: Petty chapmen and their wares in the seventeenth century*. London 1984.
- , 'The pedlar, the historian and the folklorist: seventeenth century communications', *Folklore* 105 (1994), pp. 13–24.
- , *Small books and pleasant histories. Popular fiction and its readership in seventeenth-century England*. Cambridge 1981.
- Stipriaan, R. van, *Leugens en vermaak. Boccaccio's novellen in de kluchtcultuur van de Nederlandse renaissance*. Amsterdam 1995.
- Stoker, D.A., "'To all booksellers, country chapmen, hawkers and others". How the population of East Anglia obtained its printed materials', in Myers, Harris and Mandelbrote (eds), *Fairs, markets and the itinerant book trade*, pp. 107–136.

- Suarez, M.F., 'Introduction', in Suarez and Turner, *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, 5: 1–35.
- , and M.L. Turner, eds, *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, vol. 5: 1695–1830. Cambridge 2009.
- Sweerts, Hieronymus, *Koddige en ernstige opschriften, op luyffens, wagens, glazen, uithangborden en andere tafereelen*. 1698–1700, rpt. Zaltbommel 1969.
- Treadwell, M., 'The stationers and the printing acts at the end of the seventeenth century', in Barnard, McKenzie and Bell, *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, 4: 755–776.
- Vansummeren, P., *Kinderprenten van Brepols*. Turnhout 1996.
- Veen, C.F. van, *Drie eeuwen Noord-Nederlandse kinderprenten*. Den Haag 1971.
- Veldhorst, N., *Zingend door het leven. Het Nederlandse liedboek in de Gouden Eeuw*. Amsterdam 2009.
- Verkruijssse, P.J., *De marskramer: Verslag van een onderzoek naar de marskramer in archivalia*. Unpublished research report, Instituut voor Neerlandistiek, Amsterdam University, 1994. Electronic version: <http://cf.hum.uva.nl/nhl/marskramers>.
- , *De marskramer: Verslag van een onderzoek naar de marskramer in literatuur en beeldende kunst*, 2 vols. Unpublished research report, Instituut voor Neerlandistiek, Amsterdam University, 1993. Electronic version: <http://cf.hum.uva.nl/nhl/marskramers>.
- . 'De verspreiding van populaire literatuur', in T. Anbeek and M.A. Schenkeveld-Van der Dussen (eds), *Nederlandse literatuur, een geschiedenis*. Groningen 1993.
- Vis, J., 'The book trade in the Poort', *Quaerendo* 37 (2007), pp. 111–146.
- Vliet, R. van, *Elie Luzac (1721–1796). Boekverkoper van de Verlichting*. Nijmegen 2005.
- , 'Klein Jan. De bard van de Botermarkt', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman* 30, no. 1 (2007), pp. 26–35.
- Völpel, A., *Der Literarisierungsprozess der Volksaufklärung des späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert*. Frankfurt am Main 1996.
- Voorst van Beest, C.W. van, *De katholieke armenzorg te Rotterdam in de 17e en 18e eeuw*. Den Haag 1955.
- Vries, B.W. de, *From pedlars to textile barons. The economic development of a Jewish minority group in the Netherlands*. Amsterdam 1989.
- Vries, J. de, *The industrious revolution. Consumer behavior and the household economy, 1650 to the present*. Cambridge 2008.
- , and A. van der Woude, *Nederland 1500–1815. De eerste ronde van moderne economische groei*. Amsterdam 1995.
- Watt, T., *Cheap print and popular piety 1550–1640*. Cambridge 1991.
- , 'Publisher, pedlar, pot-poet: The changing character of the broadside trade, 1550–1640', in Myers and Harris, *Spreading the word*, pp. 61–81.
- Webster, M., *Francis Wheatley*. London 1970.
- Weekhout, I., *Boekcensuur in de Noordelijke Nederlanden. De vrijheid van drukpers in de zeventiende eeuw*. Den Haag 1998.
- Wensing, E., 'Sketching 'midst Fogs. A selected and annotated edition of John Skinner's Travels in Holland', M.A. thesis, University of Leiden, 1996.
- Weyerman, Jacob Campo, *Den vrolyke tuchtheer (1729)*, with commentary by H.J. Hanou, 2 vols. Amsterdam 1982.
- Wijnman, H.F., 'De Amsterdamse liedjeszanger Kees Meijer (1818–1885)', *Jaarboek van het genootschap Amstelodamum* 61 (1969), pp. 155–171.
- Wijzenbeek, T., 'Van priseersters en prostituées. Beroepen van vrouwen in Delft en Den Haag tijdens de achttiende eeuw', *Jaarboek voor Vrouwengeschiedenis* 8 (1987), Special issue *Vrouwenlevens 1500–1850*, pp. 173–201.
- Williams, R., 'Stolen goods and the economy of makeshifts in eighteenth century Exeter', *Archives* 112 (2005), pp. 84–96.
- Wissing, P. van, *Stokebrand Janus, 1787*. Nijmegen 2003.
- Zegveld, W.F., *De Joden van Leiden*, 4 vols. Capelle aan den IJssel 1988.
- Zijden, B. van der, 'Apollo's marsdrager. Geschiedenis van een populaire uitgave aan het begin van de achttiende eeuw', M.A. thesis, University of Amsterdam 1996.

INDEX OF NAMES, PLACES AND MAJOR TOPICS

- Aardenburg 187n
 Abrahamsz, Paulus 173
 Abspoel 232
 Acts of Parliament 20, 101, 161, 164
 Adrien, Pierre 243
 Airdrie 161
 Akersloot 213
 Alkmaar 91, 216
 Allard, Johannes 200
 Allen, James 82
 Almanacs 20, 30–31, 33, 39, 41, 43, 85, 90,
 100–101, 116, 122, 129, 144, 161–164,
 189–190, 192, 197, 203, 206, 208, 244,
 252–253
 Chinese 48
 Militia 189
 Alpine Region 2, 125
 Alten, Ank van 184
 Amersfoort 206
 Amsterdam 7, 9, 12, 26–29, 34, 36–38, 42,
 44, 79, 86, 88–89, 91, 152, 169–179,
 182–183, 187–190, 192–193, 199, 202–203,
 205–206, 208, 210–211, 213–214, 216–217,
 219–220, 222, 224–226, 230, 234–235, 237,
 239, 241, 243–247, 251–255
 Amstelveld 50, 202
 Bakkerstraat 201
 Beulingstraat 189, 225
 Beurs/bourse/ Exchange 45, 189–190,
 199, 225
 Bomstraat 224
 Botermarkt/Butter market 44, 48, 49,
 50, 179, 200–202, 245
 Dam 45, 199, 225
 Duivelshoek/ Devil's corner 48–49, 88,
 200
 Halsteeg 193n
 Jodenbreestraat 179
 Jordaan 171n
 Kalverstraat 243
 Kattenburg 44
 Nieuwe Brug, De 210
 Nieuwebrugsteeg 226
 Nieuwmarkt 43
 Orphanage 244
 Oudemanhuis Poort 179, 200, 202
 Pijlsteeg 193
 Regulierbreestraat 48, 200–201
 Rembrandtplein/
 Rembrandtsquare 48n, 50, 200, 202
 Spaarndamse brug/ Spaarndam
 Bridge 45, 197
 Sint Anthoniesbreestraat 178
 Utrechtse straat 201
 Vijgendam 206
 Waag, De 201
 Water, 't (Damrak) 210
 Zeedijk 171n
 Amsterdamse schouwburg (Amsterdam
 theatre) 34
 Andersen, Hans Christian 202
 Anderton, Sarah 149n, 156
 Angus 56
 Anne, Queen 23
 Antwerpen/Antwerp 35n, 36n, 38, 118, 178,
 189, 192n
 Archbishop of Canterbury 17, 99
 Archbishop Laud 98, 153
 Arends, Hendrik 235
 Ariens, Dina 214
 Arnhem 1
 Art market 56, 64, 69, 70
 Atkyns, Richard 114
 Auctioneers (books) 28, 116
 Augustus (Emperor) 155n
 Avanzo family 241
 Axel 187n

 Baden, Louis of 224
 Baldwin, Abigail 144n, 151–152
 Ballard Partners 133, 253
 Ballads (and songs) 4–5, 13, 15–17, 20–21,
 26, 30–37, 43–45, 48–50, 54–57, 63,
 69–71, 74–75, 85, 86, 95, 100, 105, 113–116,
 122–123, 126, 127, 129, 132, 134–136,
 139–140, 148, 152–153, 157–161, 164, 167n,
 168, 187, 189–190, 192, 199, 203, 205, 208,
 210–211, 213–215, 222–223, 232, 246–247,
 253–255
 Barbe, Jan 225–226
 Barens, Rycke 222
 Barges/ canal boats 28, 88, 235
 Barker, Samuel 116
 Baroen, Jacob 224
 Barnard, John 97
 Barnes, Mrs 151

- Barnstaple 116
 Barnwell, Ann 154, 157
 Bartlett, Laetitia 150
 Bassano 1, 239
 Batte, John 156
 Bedford, Dame 143
 Beekbergen 89
 Beuningen 79
 Beggars/begging 11, 25, 28, 48, 51, 64, 69,
 77–78, 81–82, 92, 94, 130, 136, 171, 189n,
 200, 208, 211, 215, 245, 247, 249
 Beguin, P.A. 243
 Bekker, Balthasar 48
 Bell, Maureen 16, 17, 21, 97, 110–111, 159
 Benjamins, Abraham 192
 Berg, (Willem?) Van den 27n, 199
 Berg, Willem van den 199
 Bergen op Zoom 239
 Berkheij, Johannes le Francq van 215
 Bethum, Francis 133
 Bibles 88–89, 113, 116, 123, 126, 130n, 187,
 190, 192
 Bibliopolis 177
 Bibliotheque Bleue 8
 Bickham the Younger, George 60n
 Biestkens, Nicolaes 33
 Bint, Robert 109
 Birmingham 124
 Bishop of London 17, 20, 99
 Blare, Josiah 115
 Bliss, Joseph 143
 Blokzijl 214
 Blount, Thomas 51
 Blue, Jamie 82
 Boccaccio, Giovanni 46
 Bohemia 179
 Boekholt, Baltes 38n
 Boer, Jacob de 213
 Boerma, Nico 216n
 Bom, Gerrit 199
 Bommel 210
 Bonn, Marcus Barendt 206
 Bookbinders 121, 143, 180, 188, 193, 204,
 225–226
 Book illustrations 9, 56, 72, 73
 Book of Common Prayer 130n
 Bookstalls 27–28, 43, 48, 114–116, 120,
 128–129, 130–131, 171, 188, 197–204, 207,
 239, 245
 Market stalls 168, 184, 197, 241, 245
 Stallholders 3, 19, 27, 105, 129, 179, 182,
 197–203, 208, 243, 245–246, 251–252
 Borduer, Jan Jansz 205
 Bornius, Arnoldus 36
 Bos, Gerardus 214
 Bos, H. 27n, 199
 Bosch, Hendrik 45, 46
 Bosch, Hieronymus 12, 88–89
 Bosch, Johannes in den 206
 Both, Andries 77
 Bouckart, Jurriaen 223
 Bourdieu, Pierre 8
 Bowes, Ann 157
 Bowles, John 60
 Bourtoil, Maria 205
 Bostel 1
 Brabant 14, 39, 189, 213
 Brache, Anne 128
 Breach, Mrs 149
 Breeckvelt, Willem 205, 234
 Brepols 72n, 239
 Brereton, John 128, 149
 Breughel, G.H. 33
 Breughel, Gerrit van 222
 Breukelen 189
 Brice, Andrew I 144
 Brice, T. 157
 Bridewell, Court of 21
 Bridewell prison 102, 105, 151
 Brink, Barbara 199
 Brink, J.B. van den 177
 Bristol 23, 109, 124
 British Book Trade Index (BBTI) 110–114,
 116, 160n, 163
 Broad-sides/broadsheets 54–56, 69, 75, 100,
 122, 128, 146, 151, 161, 244
 Broek, Cornelis van den 178n
 Broersz, Joost (and widow) 217
 Brouwer, Jacob 213
 Bruges / Brugge 39, 178, 222n
 Brunello, Balthasar 241
 Bruyn, Eric de 12, 88
 Bud, Elizabeth 148
 Buffa, Frans 243
 Buffa, G. (Giovanni?) 243
 Buffa, Giovanni 243
 Buffa, Pieter 243
 Buffa, Sebastiaan 243
 Buffa family 241, 243
 Buna, Ambrosius 190, 226
 Burgundia, Antonius à 35
 Burke, Peter 5, 256
 Burleigh, Rebecca 144n
 Bijlmermeer 177
 Caldwell, George 78
 Cambrésis 178
 Cambridge 120

- Cambridgeshire 129
 Cameron, William (alias Hawkie) 78,
 81–82, 85–86, 161
 Campo Weyerman, Jacob 49, 220
 Canal Boats
 See Barges
 Canongette, Felip Andre 31, 206–208, 245,
 249
 Caramelli, Alberto 243
 Caramelli, Jacob 241–243
 Caramelli family 241, 243
 Carter, George 67
 Carver, Frances 152
 Castiglione, Giovanni 1
 Catalogues (exhibitions) 116
 Catechisms 161
 Catholic books 204–205
 Cawdron, George 149, 154
 Censorship 4, 7, 9, 18, 26, 30, 92, 99, 120,
 147–149, 167, 172, 255
 Chamber of rhetoric 33
 Chapbooks 6, 8, 78–79, 85, 100, 115, 127, 129,
 145, 158, 161, 163, 252–253
 Chapman Court of Fife 126
 Chapmen of Perthshire 126
 Chappell, J. 61n
 Charlatan 11
 Charters 30
 Chartier, Roger 6
 Cheap, John
 See Dougal Graham
 Cheap Repository Tracts 161
 Chester 115, 163n
 Choffin, Victor 130
 Children's literature/books 55, 61, 73, 90,
 116, 161–162, 194–195, 206, 253
 Christ 11, 12
 Christian books 89
 Circulating libraries 31n, 97, 121
 Civil War 16, 17, 81, 146, 155
 Classicism 34
 Claas, Neeltje 44, 189
 Clements, Theo 239n
 Clifton, Catherine 154
 Cnobbaert (and widow), J. 35n
 Cock, Hendrick de 89
 Cockram, William 130n
 Coertse, Willem 216, 230
 Coffeehouses 19, 20, 37, 135, 138, 142, 144,
 152, 158–159, 215, 235
 Cohen, Mathijs van Mordechay 193
 Cologne 183
 Colportage 93, 252
 Colporter 14, 206
 Colporteren 14
 Colporteur/Colportrice 14–15, 31, 173,
 187, 206
 Comedy 34, 44
 Comic Theatre 34–35, 46
 Comite van Algemeene
 Waakzaamheid 230
 Commissioners (HPO) 103, 131
 Confession books 12, 171–172, 188
 Cookery books 160
 Copyright 98, 144–146
 Corneli, Geertuid 194n
 Corneli, Orselina 194n
 Cornwall 102n, 109, 124, 139, 144
 Consumer goods 3, 6, 82, 112, 122,
 183–184, 250
 Coster 52, 122
 Cotswolds 104
 Costermonger 14
 Court (criminal) records 12, 56, 203,
 226, 234
 Court of Alderman (London) 23, 148
 Cries of London 55–56, 60–61, 67n, 69, 73,
 75, 94
 Criminal records 9, 123, 168, 171, 183, 188,
 192, 211, 214
 Cristiaens, Meijnsge 210
 Cromwell, Olivier 126
 Crook, Claas 213
 Croom, Mrs 151
 Croon, Gerrit 181
 Crosfield, Robert 156
 Cultural goods 2–3, 8, 41, 82, 122, 183
 Cumbria 113
 Cunningham, John 123
 Cupar 126
 Curtis, Mrs 151

 Dalton, Michael 21
 Dam, Cornelis van 190, 235
 Damme, Andries van 29, 45–46
 Damme, Ilja van 118–120
 Damme, Jan Hendrik van 235
 Dartmouth 116
 Darnton, Robert 8n, 29
 Davis, William 153
 Daziario family 241
 Deceulaer, Harald 3, 6, 112–113, 178
 Decorative writing paper 74
 Deelen, N. van 243
 Defoe, Daniel 153
 Delbeek, Pieter 244
 Delft 36, 91, 168, 205, 216
 Den Bosch 187, 189n, 213, 239

- Den Haag/ The Hague 26, 36, 91, 182–183,
193, 203, 205, 210, 214, 216, 219, 225,
232–234
Binnenhof 197
- Derby 163n
- Descartes, René 38, 48
- Deudecum, Hendrik van 215
- Deursen, A. Th. van 14
- Deventer 203, 239
- Devon 9, 97, 102n, 109, 116–118, 124, 130, 133,
138, 143
- Dialogues 42, 228
- Dickhuijsen, Miss 213
- Dircks, Willem 204
- Dircxz, Willem 180
- Dirksz, Johannes (alias Jan de Plug) 213
- Dodd, Ann 149, 151
- Doeland, Catharina 187
- Doeland, Jacobus 187
- Doetichem 214–215
- Dominikus, Jan 213
- Donkel 226
- Doorwerth 88
- Dor, Niklaas 44
- Dordrecht 91, 203–205, 216
- Dorset 109, 130n
- Dover 115
- Drawings 52, 73, 74, 77
- Drew, J. 144
- Duijst, Claes van 223
- Dunton, John 151
- Dunwalt, Henderick van 36n
- Duval, Johanna Sophia 229–230
- Dying Speeches 54, 157, 160–161, 164
- East Kent 25
- Edinburgh 78–79, 85–86, 161, 237
Lawnmarket 85
- Eemswoud, Jacob 188
- Egmond, Zeger van 205n
- Egmont, Jacobus (I) van 29–30, 37, 42, 45,
226–227
- Egmont, Jacobus (II) van 220, 234
- Ego documents 9, 13, 78, 81, 95–96
- Elburg 89
- Elsland, Jan van 35n
- Elzevier, Pieter 37, 38, 45
- Emerson, James 121
- Emmerich 205
- Emmering Collection 55
- Erskins, James 102
- Evans, Mr. 124
- Eversden, Henry 149n, 156
- Ewouts, Gerrit (and widow) 38n
- Execution broadsides
- See Dying speeches
- Exeter 7, 9, 24–25, 97–98, 109, 113, 116–118,
124–125, 130, 142–144, 160
Fore Street 130
Guildhall 160
High Street 130
St. Martin's parish 130
- Exmouth 102
- Ezechiël, Hijman 206
- Faber, Sjoerd 171n
- Fairfax, Lord General 81
- Fairs 3, 36, 43, 47, 69, 73–74, 77, 100, 109,
112, 126, 129–131, 133, 158–161, 179, 184, 200,
202–203, 210
Bridgewater Fair 110
St. Luke fair 132
- Fairy tales 31, 90, 253
- Falkirk 86, 161
- Falmouth 24
- Fancy Picture 63, 64
- Farce 32–34, 44–45, 48
- Farley, Samuel 117, 142
- Feather, John 98
- Febremon, Geertruij 224
- Ferdinand, Christine 142
- Fietta, Adam 202n, 241
- Fietta family 241
- Fife Chapman Society 126
- Flanders 168
- Focquenbroch, Willem G. 45
- Fontaine, Laurence 2, 11, 28, 118, 186,
220, 250
- Fonteyn, Jacobus 224
- Ford, Sarah 139
- Forms of prayer 20, 101, 163–164
- France 3, 4n, 5–6, 14, 29, 32, 36–38, 57–60,
112, 120–121, 125, 167, 178, 183, 210, 220,
228, 245
- Franckendael, Stoffel Jans van 210
- Fraternity of Chapmen (Stirlingshire)
86, 126
- Frederix, Marrij 226
- Free Society of Artists 64
- Freist, Dagmar 146
- French Pedlars
(see Savoyards)
- Friesland 168
- Frijhoff, Willem 27
- Gaasbeeck, Adriaan 222
- Galle, Jan 35n
- Gallows literature
See Dying Speeches
- Games 55

- Gammon, Vic 5
 Gardenen 89
 Garsie, Dominicus 222
 Gawen, Thomas 154
 Gay, John 52
 Gazettes
 See newspapers
 Geertruidenberg 203
 Gelderland 87, 168, 195, 205, 245
 Geluwe, Arent van 205n
 Geluwe, Jacobus van 205
 Gent, Thomas 153
 Gentleman's Magazine 126
 George III, King 64
 George, Mary Dorothy 69
 German pedlars 178
 Germany 4–5, 13, 90, 179, 186, 195, 205,
 210, 245
 Geschier, Petrus 35
 Ghent 205n
 Glasgow 78n, 82, 161
 Goes, Pieter van der 36n
 Goetzee, Nicolaas 204
 Goinga, Hannie van 27n, 91n, 195n,
 216n, 232
 Gorinchem/Gorkum 36n, 204
 Goslin, Elizabeth 149n, 156
 Gosport 124
 Gouda 91, 197, 210, 216
 Graham, Dougal (alias Cheap John) 78,
 81–82, 85–87, 95, 122
 Graham, Rigby 50
 Granpre, Pierre 193
 Grean, John 118
 Great Torrington 117
 Grey, Colonel 20
 Griffiths, Antony 57
 Grilick, Johannes van 182
 Grinwold, Willem 190
 Groningen 91, 216, 237
 Groot, Gijsbert de 38n, 91, 216
 Grove, Richard 130n
 Grover, Mrs 151
 Gruys, J.A. 169
 Guidebooks 116
 Guild 3, 7, 11–13, 22–23, 27–29, 31, 92, 112,
 127, 152, 179, 188–189, 200, 229, 244,
 246–247
 Booksellers guilds 92, 167,
 188, 197
 Booksellers guild Amsterdam 23, 27, 38,
 194, 199, 205, 214, 225
 Booksellers guild Haarlem 244
 Booksellers guild Leiden 181, 194, 195n,
 243–244
 Booksellers guild Utrecht 190, 194–195,
 229
 Kramersgilden 188
 Gysen, Jan van 30, 42, 47, 219–220, 226
 Haarlem 91, 182–183, 189, 197, 219
 Haberdasher 82
 Haberdashery 52, 194
 Hackney Coaches Board
 See Hawkers and Pedlars' Office (HPO)
 Hack writers 29, 42, 47, 49, 219
 Haes, A. de 43n
 Haines, Sheila 113
 Haggett, Esther 151
 Halberstadt, A. 202
 Hall, Jack 157
 Hamers, Catharina 223
 Hammond, Richard 146
 Handbills 103, 165
 Harderwijk 190n, 197n
 Harris, J. 61n
 Harris, Michael 3, 114n, 140, 145–146
 Harris, Samuel 124, 127
 Harte, Michael 116
 Hartman, Cornelis 220, 234
 Hartman, S. 199
 Hattum, Sara van 191–192, 230
 Hawkers and Pedlars' Office (HPO) 101,
 103, 105–106, 109–111, 117, 122, 131,
 163, 251
 Hawkie
 See William Cameron
 Hawkins, Mr 109
 Hebron, Mr 133
 Hekeren, Willem van 43n
 Hekman, Bauke 36n
 Helm, Hendrikje van der 194
 Hendrikse, Allegonda 222
 Hennegat, Jan 43
 Herring, Ann 156
 Hebrew books 179
 Hebrew commentaries 127
 Heybeek, Catharina 230
 Heymeriks, Johanna 229
 Hikes, Marg[aret] 149n, 156
 Highlands 79, 82
 Hilten, Jan van 217
 Hinks, John 110–111
 Histories 31, 161, 253
 History books 160, 192, 194–195, 206
 Hitchcock, Tim 11, 21, 51, 94, 136
 Hockes, Aelbert 222
 Hofstadt, Jeanne vd 214
 Hoftijzer, Paul 197n
 Hogarth, William 61–63, 67, 94

- Holland 26, 72, 86, 122, 182, 193, 205, 208,
 213, 220, 245
 Holland, Jacob 177
 Hollstein, F.W. 55
 Homell, Elisabeth 121
 Honiton 116
 Hontenisse 187
 Hoogenhuysen, Cornelis van 220, 224
 Hoorn 91, 216
 Hoorn, Nicolaes ten 38
 Hoorn, Timotheus ten 37, 38
 Hopkins, Thomas 153
 Hornbooks 127
 House of Commons 17, 131, 146, 153, 158
 House of Lords 17
 Houthaeck, Tymon 43n
 Hoijat, Marie 194
 Hubbard, Richard 146
 Huggonson, J. 22
 Huisingh, L. 91–92, 216
 Hull 124
 Humphreys, John 109n, 118
 Hunt, Margaret 150
 Hunton, John 51
 Huygens, Rutger 208

 India 122
 Inns 20, 28, 31, 48–49, 109, 129, 144, 153, 192,
 200, 206–207, 224, 235
 London Inn 110
 Ireland 115
 Irish pedlars 121n
 Italian pedlars 178, 239–240
 Italian printsellers 239n, 240–243, 245, 251
 Italy 4, 57–61, 119, 239, 245
 Florence 3

 Jacobite
 Rebellion 82
 balladeers 140
 ballads/songs 20, 136
 pamphlets 154
 printer 154, 156
 publication 156
 Jacobs, Apollonia 44
 Jacobs, Jan 188
 Jacobs, Jannetgen 212–213
 Jailers bills 171n
 James, Owen 139
 James, Thomas 100n
 Janknegt, Jacob 211, 223n
 Jans, Adriaen 208
 Jans, Antje 195
 Jans, Catalijn 205
 Jans, Cornelia 214
 Jans, Hester 211n
 Janse, Jannetje 223
 Janse, Robbert 223
 Janse, Willem 223
 Jansz, Lysbeth 204
 Jaspers, Govert 222n
 Jems, Eduwardt 190
 Jennings, William 139
 Jest books 33, 42, 45, 122
 Jesuits 33
 Jewish pedlars/hawkers 52, 73, 89, 95, 100,
 102, 120, 124, 126, 131, 178–179, 185n, 192,
 250–252
 Jewish Poor Strangers' Fund 127
 Jews 22, 23, 89, 126, 127, 179, 201, 215
 German or Ashkenazim 126, 179
 Portuguese 126, 179, 202, 224n
 Spanish 126
 Jochems, Aaltje 214
 Johnstone, T. 86
 Jones, Edward 139
 Jones, Evan 139
 Jones, John 139
 Jones, Judith 152
 Jongenelen, Ton 211n
 Jonker, Gerrit 205
 Joosten, Pieter 225
 Journals
 See periodicals

 Kellenbach, Johannes Phillipus 224
 Kent 163n
 Keijser, Anna 204
 Kilconquhar 126
 Killigrew, Mr. 20
 Kimhi, Jacob 127
 Kingsbridge 109, 139
 Kings' letters 190
 Kleyn Jan
 See Pieter de Vos
 Klopjes 204
 Knight, Catharine 149
 Knuttel, W.P.C. 225
 Koene, Barend 223
 Koenig, Christoffel Fredrik 232
 Koewacht 187n
 Kok, Karel de 214
 Kolm, Martinus van 230
 Koning, Egbert 79, 82, 86, 88, 192–193
 Koning, Harmanus 49n, 79, 95
 Kool, Hendrikje 204
 Kramaat, Willemijntje 194
 Kruif, J. de 31n
 Krul, Jan Harmensz 35
 Krul, Johannes 193

- Kuyde, [Andoris] Lambertse van der 226n
 Kwiks, Brigitta 189n, 213n
- Lambe, John 153
 Lampoons 190, 208, 217, 223, 225, 235, 246, 255
 Lamsvelt, Jan van 194
 Lancashire 104
 Landerie, Helena 225
 Langenakker, Klaas 231
 Langendijk, Pieter 49
 Laroon, Marcellus 56–57, 60–61, 63, 64, 94
 Law, John 37
 Lazarie, Rachel 232
 Leemans, Inger 37n, 48n
 Leenderts, Jan 210
 Leeuwarden 168
 Leeuwen, Pieter van 203
 Leicester 160
 Leiden 31, 91, 121n, 180–183, 188, 190, 194, 197, 203, 206–207, 214–216, 230–232, 234–235, 237, 243–244, 246
 Hogewoerd city gate 190, 235
 Town hall 197
 Lesger, Clé 198
 L'Estrange, Roger 99, 147, 163
 Letter books 160
 Leveridge, Phillis 157
 Levi, Elias [Vlaar] 222n, 226n
 Lewis, Evan 146
 Libels 18, 26–27, 35–36, 92, 100, 129, 133, 135, 140, 146–149, 151, 158–161, 190, 208, 215, 217, 222, 224–226, 235, 246, 254–255
 Licensing Act 21, 22, 24–26, 93, 101, 117, 131, 161, 164, 167, 249
 Lichthart, Joseph 206
 Liedjeszanger, Francis de 213n
 Liedjeszanger, Jan de 213
 Liefing, Alida 204–205
 Linden, Francois van der 38–41, 82, 87
 Lindenhout, Johannes 't 79, 87–89, 190n, 192
 Liscombe, Thomas 138
 Literacy/illiteracy 4, 116, 134, 139, 154
 Liveryman 22, 24
 Livery companies 22
 Lobo, Benjamin Jessurun 201
 Lobo, Jacob Jessurun 201–202
 Lobo, Mordechai Jessurun 201
 London 3, 6–7, 9, 17–24, 51, 69–70, 75, 81, 88, 93, 97–98, 103–106, 113, 116, 120–124, 127–129, 131, 133–136, 138–139, 140–144, 146–147, 150–153, 155–156, 158, 161, 162, 163–164, 200, 217, 226, 228, 251, 253–255
 Aldermanbury 124
 Aldgate 126
 Bevis Market 126
 Bishopsgate 126
 Covent Garden 63
 Drury Lane 49
 Duke's Palace 126
 East End 126
 Exchange 17, 150
 Grub Street 88, 200
 Holborn 115
 Houndsditch 126
 London Bridge 115, 127, 158, 253
 Love Lane 124
 Newington Butts 114
 Old Bailey 153
 Paternoster row 130
 Smithfield 115, 127, 158
 Southwark 114
 St. Helen's Aldgate 126
 St. Paul 153
 Strand 115
 Sun Street 126
 Thames 114
 Warwick Lane off Newgate Street 150
 Westminster 132, 150, 153
 Westminster Hall 99, 128–129, 149
 London Common Council 17, 22, 81, 122, 147
 Loots, Johannes 188
 Lottery tickets 55, 73, 143
 Louis XV, King 37
 Love, David 78, 81, 85, 88–89, 121–124
 Lovo (or Lobo), B. 243
 Lowden, John 154
 Lowe, Henry 118n
 Lucassen, Jan 186
 Luycas, Willem 197
 Luzac, Elie 235
- Maastricht 202n
 Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen (Society of Common Benefit) 90
 Maertens, Leendert 181
 Magazines
 See periodicals
 Magee, John 78–79, 82n
 Magee, William 78–79, 83, 86, 87
 Mahony, Anne 151, 152
 Mallet, Mrs 151n
 Malthus, Sarah 144n
 Manchester 160, 163n
 Maps 178, 210
 Marcusz, J. 33
 Marien, David 34n

- Markets 3, 24–25, 48, 69, 72–73, 86, 100, 104, 109, 112, 119, 126, 129–131, 139, 158, 161, 179, 184, 194, 199–200, 203
- Market records/registrations 9, 104
- Marks, Catherine 118n
- Markus, Salomon 217
- Marriage registers 116
- Marshall, J. 78
- Martell, Mlle 135
- Martens, Ariaentie 210
- Martinij, Willem 190, 226
- Massey, John 67
- Matha, A. B. de 79
- Matheus, Maerten 203
- Matthew, John 157
- Matthews, Mary 154
- Matthijs, Dorithie 204
- Maurik, Justus van 50
- Maxted, Ian 140, 142
- Mayhew, Henry 5, 70, 75, 116, 129, 136, 158, 254
- McDowell, Paula 3, 100, 136, 139, 151–153, 154, 164, 250, 255
- Meebeek, N. van 206
- Menzies, Robert 85, 86
- Memorandum books 116
- Mercuries (texts) 37, 114, 140, 146, 152, 208, 226, 228
- Mercuries (distributors) 51, 121, 145, 148, 151, 232, 254
- Mercury women 51, 114, 136, 146, 149–151, 156, 163n, 164, 217, 226, 228, 247, 251, 255
- Merken, A. 199
- Meijer, Kees 79–80, 87–89, 192
- Meyer, Maurits de 55
- Middelburg 187
- Middlesex 163n
- Midwinter, Elisabeth 152
- Militia 189
- Drummers 189
- Miner 82, 122
- Mist, Nathaniel 156
- Moey, Ter 203
- Monarchists 16
- Monnem, Hendrik van 30
- Montfoort, Gijsbert van 194
- Moor, Martinus de 178n, 222n, 223
- Morland, Henry Robert 64
- Mordechay Cohen, Matthijs van 48n
- Morris, John 126
- Mossel, Kaat
- See Catharina Mulder
- Mount Edgecumbe 109
- Muiderberg 193
- Mulder, Catharina (alias Kaat Mossel) 95
- Muller, Frederik 31
- Muller, Matthijs Henderik 204n
- Münster 183
- Murray, Robert 149, 154
- Music books 205
- Music theatre 193n
- Naggar, Betty 106
- Napoleonic surveys 31, 168, 173, 206
- Natin, Mr 109
- Neele, Arno 187n
- Neerbosch 89
- Nes, Ignatius van 206, 232–233
- Newcastle 57, 78, 134, 163n
- Newman and Co 110, 126
- News
- newsagents 143, 160, 254
 - newsbooks 4, 18, 51, 146, 148
 - newsbrokers 37, 85, 87
 - newsboys 143, 254
 - newsletters 16, 122, 158–159, 189, 206, 212, 215, 221–225, 228, 246, 253–255
 - newspapers 18, 20, 26–28, 30, 37, 47, 51, 54–56, 69, 85, 98, 100–101, 103, 109, 113–114, 117, 121, 136, 140, 142–146, 148–153, 155–157, 163–165, 173, 182, 189, 191–192, 199, 206–208, 215–217, 219–222, 226, 230–235, 237, 246–247, 253
 - news sheets 177, 199
- Newton Abbot 116
- New Year greetings/gifts/wishes 55, 90–91, 122, 144, 190, 216
- Nierop, Leonie van 14, 179
- Nil Volentibus Arduum 34
- Noman, Johannes 72
- Noordwijk 210n
- Normandy 178
- Novels 34, 48, 95
- Nutt, daughters 156
- Nutt, Elizabeth 149–152
- Nijmegen 79, 89, 182
- Ogier, G. 36n
- Ogilbie, Sarah 136, 152
- Oirschot 1
- Old Bailey proceedings 123, 158
- Old book sellers
- See Second-hand book sellers
- Oldham, John 52
- Oorthoorn, Abraham 234
- Oosterkamp, Alida 217
- Orange, Prince of 93, 234
- Orangists 224, 233, 235

- journal 230
- newspaper 190, 230, 234–235
- pamphlets 224, 235
- periodicals 235
- writers/writings 188, 215
- Ossenisse 187n
- Overbeke, Arnout van 45
- Overraam 235
- Ouder Amstel 177
- Overton, John 60
- Overton, Philip 62
- Overijssel 14, 214
- Ovid 50
- Oxford 120
- Paffenrode, Johan van 35, 36n
- Paintings 9, 53–54, 56, 70, 72–74, 77, 88, 94–95
- Paisley 78–79, 161
- Pamphlets 4, 15–19, 21–22, 24, 26, 29, 33, 35–37, 39, 41, 46, 49–50, 83, 85, 92, 98–100, 114, 116, 121, 132–133, 135, 140, 145–154, 156–160, 163, 167n, 188–190, 192, 215, 217, 222–226, 228, 232, 234–235, 245–247, 254–255
- Pamphlet shops 22
- Papon, Jean 194
- Paris 35, 52
- Park, Annaatje Jacob 215
- Parker, George 145
- Parliament 15–17, 20–23, 25, 69, 81, 99, 106, 116, 118, 121, 133, 147–148, 156
- Parliamentarians 16, 17, 133, 146, 255
- Pasquil 45
- Passinger, Thomas 115, 127
- Patents 31, 168, 177, 183–184, 192, 206, 243
- Patriots 224, 233, 235
 - patriotic pamphlet 224
 - patriotic periodical 234
- Patterers 116, 129, 138, 158
- Peacey, Jason 146–147
- Peele, John 150
- Penha, Moses 201
- Penha family 202
- Penny histories 160
- Penrith 163n
- Penzance 24
- Pepys, Samuel 161
- Periodicals 30, 32, 37, 42, 47, 90, 92, 100, 116, 140, 145, 150, 208, 214, 217, 226, 228, 234
- Perk, Jacobus 188, 235
- Permits 31, 89, 177, 180–181, 192, 220
- Peter the Great 49
- Petitions 82, 112
- Philip, James 24
- Picket, William 153
- Picture books 177
- Pictures in frames 116
- Pieters, Aaltje 216
- Pieters, Ary 181
- Pieters (Bokk), Joris 224
- Pieterse, Johannes 223
- Pieterse, Philip 220
- Pietersz, Symon 225n
- Pieterz, T. 38n
- Piracy 29
 - Pirate editions 129, 163, 207, 228, 232
- Placards 14, 16, 25, 27–28, 30, 165, 182
- Place, Francis 136
- Plamootauctiën 199n
- Plantin, Christopher 38
- Plas, Pieter van de 215
- Plays 9, 37, 42, 44, 46, 50–51, 228, 253
- Playbills 54, 116
- Playbooks 116
- Playing cards 116, 122, 126, 127, 224, 244
- Plug, Jan de
 - See Johannes Dirksz
- Plymouth 109, 116, 133
- Poems 32, 36, 45, 205
- Poets 36, 49
 - pedlar-poet 86
 - preacher-poet 88
- Poetry 9, 36, 228
- Point, Matthias 190, 226
- Pol, J.D. van der Capellen tot den 224
- Pol, Jacoba Paulisse van der 189, 213n
- Poland 121, 179
- Pon, Andries du (Andreas Pontanus) 243
- Pook, Jan 35
- Poolsum, widow of Jurriaan van 191, 230
- Pope, Alexander 154n
- Popish Plot 19
- Pornographic works/images 193, 237
- Post 235
- Postmen 237
- Postle, Martin 63
- Prak, Maarten 27
- Pratt, Daniel 156
- Prayer books 116, 194, 204, 206, 244
- Preston 163n
- Priests 237
- Primers 127
- Printing Act 98–99, 120, 129, 142, 148, 163, 252, 254
- Prints 9, 26, 36–37, 43, 52–56, 60, 67, 69, 94–95, 122, 127, 130, 147, 161, 167n, 178, 197, 202, 206, 214, 237, 239, 246–247

- Penny prints (centsprenten/kinderprenten) 55, 72–75, 77, 90, 208, 237, 250, 253
 Italian prints 239–240
 Probate inventories 116, 118, 123
 Proclamations 20, 101, 161, 164
 Prognostications 122, 203
 Prose 9, 34
 Public opinion 37, 38, 158, 164
 Publish (spread) 14
 Putten 89

 Quacks 11, 253

 Radcliffe, Mrs 148
 Railway 7, 31n, 88, 106
 Randall, C. 86
 Rasp house 211
 Raven, James 97, 105, 114, 144
 Ravesteyn, Paulus Aertsz van 204
 Reading circles 7, 31, 235
 Reading clubs 7
 Reading libraries 7
 Rees, Kees van 8
 Reiniersz, Harder 223–224
 Religious Tract Society 161
 Remondini 1, 239–240
 Reresby, Sir John 19
 Restoration 16, 18, 21, 26, 97, 99, 147
 Reyn, Js. van 211
 Reynierse 195
 Riberolles, Jean de 190, 226
 Riddles 116, 228
 Riding Surveyor 103, 109
 London Surveyor 103
 Rio, Jan 241
 Ritthem 187
 Roberts, Patricius 149
 Robijn, Jacobus 226
 Rochow, Friedrich Eberhard von 90
 Rochwith 190
 Roeloffs, Oth 215
 Rogues 17, 28, 32–33, 48, 50, 52, 101, 132, 200
 Rosseau, Jacobus 44, 47
 Rossum, J. van 235
 Rotgans, Lukas 34
 Rotterdam 25, 36n, 38–39, 41, 91, 182–183, 203, 210–211, 216, 219, 239
 Royal Academy 64
 Royalists 139, 146, 155
 Russell, Mr 109
 Russia 49
 Russia, Wolf 102
 Rusting, Salomon van 49

 Rye 115
 Rijkenberg, Jan 216
 Rijnders, Hendrik 223n
 Rijnland 214

 Sacheverell, Henry 152
 Saen, Jacobus van 224
 Sailor 189, 204n, 211
 Salmon, Judith 156
 Salzberg, R. 3
 Salzmann, Christian Gotthilf 90
 Sammers, J. 33
 Sandby, Paul 67n
 Sanders, Ritsart 121n, 237
 Santen, G.C. van 33
 Satirical print/images 67, 69, 95
 Savage, John 57
 Savoy 119, 210
 Savoyards (French pedlars) 19, 26, 31, 119, 130, 178, 210n, 245
 Savrij, Jan 213n
 Scales, Elizabeth 152
 Scheidt, Gabriele 4n, 11n
 Schelven, Aart van 187n
 Schenda, Rudolf 5
 Scheurleer, H., en F. Zoon 27n, 28n
 Schilders, Richard 34n
 Schinckel, Harman 168
 Schneider, Christina 237
 Schoolbooks 160, 192, 194, 203, 206, 208, 244
 Schoolmaster 82, 122, 190, 239
 Schoor, Jacobus van 206
 Schouten 203
 Schouwen Duiveland 187
 Schram, Jacobus van der 235
 Scotland 19, 86, 122, 126, 132–133, 161
 Scottish pedlars/itinerants 19, 21, 78, 86, 120, 126, 131–132, 165, 237
 Scottish pedlar societies 252
 Sculptures 53
 Second-hand (old) booksellers/shops/stalls 3, 7, 31n, 129, 169, 199–202, 243–245
 Sermons 129
 Sel, Jeremia Isaacs 211n, 213–214
 Selly, Gillian 102n
 Seubert, Michel 203
 Shakespeare, William 50
 Sharpe, John 121
 Sherrif rolls 171–172
 Shesgreen, Sean 5, 6on
 Sherborn 130n, 143
 Shoemaker, Robert 136, 157, 254
 Simons, Cornelis 224

- Sinjoor, Isaack 224n
 Sink, Gesina 217, 230
 Sipman, Hendrina 89
 Sirxz, Thomas 215
 Skellat bellman 82, 122
 Skinner, John 210n
 Slinger, Cornelis 181
 Sluijter, Antonij 211
 Small godly books 127, 133
 Small merry books 127, 133, 253
 Smient, Jan Barentsz 205
 Smiles, Samuel 113
 Smit, Henri 201–202
 Smith, Elizabeth 150
 Smith, John Raphael 67
 Smith, John Thomas 61n, 75n
 Smith, Mrs 156
 Smyth, John 124
 Sneek 205
 Snellaert, Esdras Willemsz 197
 Soldiers 81, 82, 121, 152, 189, 205, 211, 214
 Somerset 109
 Songbooks 34, 42–43, 50, 85, 116, 123, 138, 160, 228
 Songs (see Ballads)
 Southern Netherlands (Belgium) 3, 6, 54, 112, 178, 194n, 207, 210, 239n
 Southey, Robert 52, 127
 South Molton 116
 South Sea Bubble 36, 42
 Spain 4, 25, 52
 Spanbroek 192
 Spanish pedlars 19
 Sparke, Michael 155
 Spectator 228
 Spelling books 122, 161
 Spinning house 211
 Spufford, Margaret 2, 5, 6, 16, 103–104, 114, 118, 122, 160, 163, 250, 253
 Squier, John 134
 Stamp Act (1712) 142, 145, 163
 Star Chamber Decree 98
 State Papers 131, 151
 States General 14, 27
 States of Holland 28
 States of Utrecht 28, 234
 Stationers' Company 17–20, 22, 81, 92–93, 98–99, 114–115, 120, 129, 131, 147–148, 153, 163–164
 Statutes 9, 13, 27
 St. Austell 109
 Stead, John 124
 Steenberg, Simon van 203
 Steigers Church 41
 Steele, Richard 52
 Stel, Captain van der 211
 Stichter, Jacob 189
 Stichter, Johannes (I) 38n
 Stiles, John 105, 121
 Stirling 86, 161
 Stirlingshire 126
 St Laurentius Church 41
 Stockhoff, Adriaan 237
 Stockport 163n
 Stokvis, Elias Levy 215
 Store, Edward 118
 Strathesk, John 78
 Street literature 44
 Street-sellers' Society 113
 Strong, John 118
 Struys, G. 199
 Struys, Hendrik 199
 Stuarts 140
 Stubbe, Arend 203
 Sturkenboom, Dorothee 195n, 205n
 Surveyor of the Press 99
 Sutton and Son 78
 Swart, Rijck Cornelissen de 189, 225
 Swift, Jonathan 15, 154n
 Symons, William 133
 Tafijn, Hubertus 224
 Tallack, William 109
 Taunton 124
 Taverns 47, 124, 144, 149, 187, 192, 235
 Tavistock 116
 Taylor, Mrs 151
 Taylor, Randall 114
 Tetrode, Lenaert Dierts (Diericks) van 197
 Temmingh, Catharyn 232, 234
 Tempest, Pierce 56–57, 61
 Tennyson, Alfred 52
 Tesini (sellers) 178, 241, 245
 Tesino 241, 243
 Tessaro, Johan 202n, 241–243
 Tessaro family 241, 243
 Teunis, Cornelis 181
 Teuten 119, 186–187
 Theatres 32, 48, 200
 Thorn, Barnabas 130
 Thysen, D. 182
 Thijssen, Jo 1
 Tias, Charles 127
 Tiebel, Jan 213n
 Tiel 225
 Tiles 53–54, 73
 Timmerman, Suzanna 230
 Tiverton 116
 Tödden 178, 245
 Torrington 133

- Totnes 116
 Tovas, Pieter 224
 Town tolls 168
 Tracts 116
 Trade licenses 9, 168
 Trade magazines/journals 13, 32
 Trade publishers 144, 164, 251, 254
 Trewman, Robert I 144, 160
 Trewman and Son 125
 Trundle, John 57
 Tucker, James 160
 Turnhout 239
 Twelve Years Truce 208
 Twente 203
 Tysens, Gysbert 37, 45–46
- Udinck, Gerard 237
 Uittenbroek, Dirck 215n
 Utrecht (city) 7, 9, 12n, 26, 31, 91, 182–184, 187, 190–194, 197, 202–203, 205–206, 214, 216, 219, 230, 232, 234–235, 237, 241, 243–246, 251–252, 255
 Choorstraat 242
 Gouden Leeuw 207
 Koestraat 194
 Mariaplaats 202
 Oude Gracht 237
 Oud Munster Kerkhof (Domplein) 202, 242–243
 Vredeburg 194
 Utrecht (province) 26, 182n, 184, 195, 205, 232, 234, 245–246
- Vagabonds/vagrants 15, 17, 22, 23, 28, 92, 101, 131–133, 147–148, 150, 213, 215, 249, 254
 Veere 187
 Velse, Pieter van 181
 Veluwe 87
 Venice 3, 239
 Venckel, Hendrick 226
 Verhoeven, Garrelt 197n
 Vierschaar van Rijnland 235
 Vigor, Joseph 118
 Vinck, Paulus 36n
 Vinckel, Jacob 43n
 Vickers, Ellen 136, 152
 Vinne, I. van der 35n
 Vlaanderen 14
 Vogel, Pieter de 219
 Vondel, Joost van den 36
 Vos, Jan 34, 45
 Vos, Pieter de (alias Kleyn Jan) 44, 49, 50n, 86
- Vries, Ellardus de 225
 Vries, Jacob Pieters de 204n
 Vries, Jan de 3, 112, 250
 Vries, Maria de 204
 Vroom, Gijsbert 204
 Vry, Abram de 43
 Vyner, Sir Robert 149
- Waarts, Francois 41
 Waddinxveen 235
 Walcheren 187
 Waller Collection 55
 Walton, Henry 64n, 65, 67n
 Water, Hendrik 't 189
 Water, Hendrik Janss 't 222n
 Ward, Ned 52
 War of the Spanish Succession 220
 Wederverkopers 239
 Weeklies 140, 157, 217
 Weerts, Geertruij 213n
 Weesperkaspel 177
 Welhoeckt, Geraldo 36
 Westerbaen, Jacob 26
 West Kent 25
 West Midlands 105
 West Riding 104
 Wetstein, Rudolf 188
 Wheatley, Francis 65–66, 67
 Willems, Apollonne 187n
 Whitaker, Richard 155
 White, Mary 149
 Wholesaler 51, 150, 226, 229, 247
 Wither, George 149n, 156
 Whiteway, Stephen 149, 154
 Whittington, George 160
 Wilcox, Susannah 145n
 Wineter, Mrs 151
 Withycombe Raleigh 102
 William III, Prince of Orange 93
 William V, Prince of Orange 234
 Williams, Thomas 160
 Wilson, Alexander 79, 86
 Wolf, Mozes 206
 Wolf, Clemens de 169
 Wolf, widow De 237
 Wootton, Humphry 130
 Worshipful Company of Mercers 22
 Worshipful Company of the Fishmongers 22
 Wright, Peter 130
 Wright, William 130
 Wynbergen, Geertrud van 215

Yeo, Philip 118

York 120

Yorkshire 152

IJzendijke 187n

Zaltbommel 239

Zeeland 14, 33, 187, 246

Zeeuws-Vlaanderen 187

Zielenberg, Mary 150

Zierikzee 187

Zoeren,

Martinus van 1

Zutphen 203

Zwolle 187